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United States & Canada

Commentary on Reasons for Kislovodosk Meeting

LD2504091191 Moscow World Service in English 2300 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker will meet in the resort town of Kislovodsk in the Caucasus on Thursday. Here is a commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov:

This meeting is unexpected. It was not on the schedule of Mr. Baker's tour of the Middle East, which took him to Egypt, Israel, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Syria. Apparently this shuttle diplomacy aimed at convening a regional peace conference must have required an urgent exchange of views with Moscow. This is only natural, because the Soviet Union and the United States are to act together as organizers of that conference.

Soviet-U.S. contacts devoted to the problems of the Middle East are no less important than they were when a united front was formed at the UN to fight the Iraqi aggression. Each of the current crucial objectives requires cooperation by the two great powers.

Take the peace settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, control of arms deliveries to the Middle East, or a regional system of security. If the Soviet and U.S. foreign ministers manage to narrow differences between their countries, that would be a contribution to establishing a new world order in that part of the world.

The forthcoming meeting in Kislovodsk will be very important in terms of arms control as well. After exchanging messages, Washington and Moscow are unanimous that a compromise interpretation of the controversial treaty on conventional forces in Europe is about to take shape. More efforts at the foreign minister level to find a solution would help undo the tight knot of the conventional forces treaty controversy and (?step) to finalize a treaty to cut strategic offensive arms.

The crisis in Soviet society is another factor for the [words indistinct] forthcoming talks between Soviet and American foreign ministers. Although observers and political scientists in the United States are divided on which policy should be conducted towards the USSR, administration officials have said over and over again that they support reforms in the Soviet Union, and want stability in this country and broader cooperation between the two powers. There have been fresh confirmations from government officials in Moscow and Washington that the foreign ministers will also discuss preparations for a Soviet-U.S. summit. There's every sign that the sides have remained committed to their intention to hold the summit in the first half of this year in Moscow.

The most import thing is that the Soviet-U.S. dialogue and cooperation have become a permanent and effective factor in world affairs today.

Northeast Asia

Gorbachev's Japan Trip Viewed as 'Successful'

PM2404122391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Apr 91 p 1

[Special correspondent Captain First Rank V. Kuzar telephone report: "Broadening Mutual Understanding"]

[Excerpts] Tokyo, 19 Apr—So the USSR president's official visit to Japan has ended. And successfully so. [passage omitted]

What kind of results is the USSR president bringing home from Japan? In my view, highly impressive ones. Twelve agreements have been signed in various areas of bilateral cooperation. And it is these agreements which constitute the real result of the Soviet leader's work and the real return on the visit for our people. [passage omitted]

The Soviet-Japanese statement is of special significance. It is a major political document whose contents create the preconditions for making a breakthrough in relations between the two countries and developing their cooperation in the international arena. It answers a question which has long proven a stumbling block in our relations.

Point Four of the statement, a point on which fierce discussion developed, says:

Japanese Prime Minister T. Kaifu and USSR President M.S. Gorbachev conducted thorough, in-depth talks on the whole range of questions pertaining to the drafting of a peace treaty between Japan and the USSR, including the problem of territorial demarcation, in the light of the sides' positions on the ownership of the Kuril Islands of Habomai, Shikotan, Kunashir, and Iturup. [passage omitted]

Yes, a very successful formulation has been found, in my view, which should satisfy both sides. But what do the Japanese themselves think about it?

"Of course, we all expected more," journalist A. Komoto told me. I think that many people in our country will be disappointed by it. But as a specialist in Soviet-Japanese relations I can state utterly frankly that this is the most that could be achieved, given the domestic political situation in our two countries."

You can understand the Japanese. After all, for the last few months the Japanese mass media have assured them that at least two of the islands would be returned during the Soviet president's visit. Some of our compatriots also had a hand in this. They were blithely engaged in returning two and sometimes all four islands, since, allegedly, they are of no benefit whatsoever. But what is

interesting is that on the eve of the Soviet-Japanese summit meeting Washington advised Tokyo that in its bid to get the islands back it should in no way promise not to use them for military purposes, since they are of great strategic significance.

However, I do not think that disappointment, if it exists, is warranted. The USSR is, after all, lifting restrictions on Japanese visiting the islands and intends to reduce the size of the military contingent stationed on the islands. In the end the whole of the Far East and Siberia could now become a sphere of cooperation between our countries. Incidentally, it is direct contact between the two peoples and large-scale, mutually beneficial ties which are capable of advancing the solution of the most difficult interstate questions. Therein lies, in my view, one of the main results of the visit. [passage omitted]

DPRK Appraisal of Cheju Summit Rejected

PM2504084791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Apr 91 Second Edition p 5

["Observer's Opinion" by Vsevolod Ovchinnikov: "Cheju and Inter-Korean Dialogue"]

[Text] The talks between M.S. Gorbachev and No Tae-u on the island of Cheju were their third meeting in less than a year. The two presidents met for the first time in San Francisco last summer, in June. They signed the Declaration on the General Principles for USSR-ROK Relations in December in the Kremlin. Now we have another Soviet-South Korean summit meeting, of importance not only for bilateral relations but also for improving the climate in Northeast Asia and for the Asia-Pacific region as a whole.

Japan's ASAHI SHIMBUN regarded M.S. Gorbachev's suggestion that a treaty on good-neighborliness and cooperation be concluded between Moscow and Seoul as another bold initiative on the USSR's part. In the opinion of this influential newspaper, the ongoing Soviet-South Korean summit-level dialogue facilitates the easing of tension on the Korean Peninsula and the peaceful reunification of the country and will benefit peace and stability in Asia.

This assessment is natural against the backdrop of the USSR president's first official visit to Japan. During his Tokyo summit meeting local political circles frequently noted the importance of normalizing Soviet-South Korean relations to overcome the aftermath of the "cold war" in the Far East. In particular, it was the dynamism shown by Moscow and Seoul that prompted Tokyo and Washington to step up their contacts with Pyongyang. The Soviet-Japanese joint statement welcomes the establishment of Soviet-ROK diplomatic relations, along with the start of talks on a postwar settlement between Japan and the DPRK. The document sees this as helping to reduce tension on the Korean Peninsula.

Many commentators note that, unlike the United States, Japan, and China, only the USSR currently has diplomatic relations with both Pyongyang and Seoul and can therefore most effectively promote an inter-Korean dialogue. At his news conference in Tokyo M.S. Gorbachev voiced his satisfaction both with the dynamic nature of Soviet-ROK ties and also at the fact that the USSR is retaining and developing its long-standing relations with the DPRK. He said that he intends without fail to avail himself of the invitation to pay this country an official visit.

In connection with the Cheju meeting commentators recall the Moscow declaration which M.S. Gorbachev and No Tae-u signed in December. It voices the conviction that ties between Moscow and Seoul will help overcome confrontational thinking and deepen trust for the sake of future North-South reunification. During the meeting on Cheju M.S. Gorbachev once again confirmed that the Soviet Union shares the Korean people's desire for unity and backs all constructive efforts to this end, above all dialogue between the governments of North and South. That is Moscow's invariable position on the problem in question.

Soviet people should not therefore be surprised at statements published in Pyongyang describing the meeting on Cheju as a "base deal aimed at perpetuating the division of Korea" and even as "selling out principles for dollars." Leaving aside the inadmissibility of these expressions, their criticism is totally unfounded. If you adhere to this kind of logic you can accuse whomever you like—even the parties to the talks on normalizing relations between Pyongyang and Tokyo—of corruption or splittist schemes.

"We would like M.S. Gorbachev's historic visit to get an inter-Korean dialogue moving and ensure that the ice of the 'cold war' begins to melt on the Korean Peninsula. We cannot agree with those people who claim that the Cheju meeting will lead to North Korea's international isolation," a South Korean KBS-TV commentary says. The author of this article also cleaves to a similar opinion.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Bessmertnykh, Cambodian Counterpart Hold Talks

LD2304193191 Moscow TASS in English 1755 GMT 23 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow April 23 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh and his Cambodian counterpart Hor Namhong, who is here on a working visit, have reiterated both countries' adherence to an earliest possible settlement in Cambodia.

During talks in Moscow today, Bessmertnykh and Hor noted that the settlement process should be in strict

compliance with the U.N. Charter, respecting the Cambodian people's sovereignty, legitimate interests and the right to free self-determination, and ensuring guarantees against the restoration of genocide.

Both ministers voiced concern about continuing military operations in Cambodia and supported an appeal by co-chairmen of the International Paris Conference and the U.N. secretary-general to Cambodian sides for a ceasefire in the country from May 1, 1991.

Tney stressed the urgent need to immediately decide on a moratorium on foreign military supplies to all Cambodian sides, which is viewed as an important step towards a comprehensive settlement.

On Wednesday, Hor will continue talks with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev on international issues and bilateral relations.

Later in the day, Hor will leave Moscow.

Cambodian Situation Viewed

BK2404103991 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 23 Apr 91

[(Aleksey Kondrachev) commentary]

[Text] Today is the first day of the working visit to Moscow by Cambodian Foreign Minister Comrade Hor Namhong. Apparently it is not an easy task which brings the Comrade Cambodian Foreign Minister to the Soviet capital because in his country the armed conflict continues. Our commentator, Comrade (Aleksey Kondrachev), writes the following.

It is true that the tasks ahead of the Cambodian minister are numerous. In the view of circles in Phnom Penh, there should be exchanges on the continuation of direct political relations between the Soviet Union and Cambodia and on expanding economic cooperation. It ought to be said that the economic situation in Cambodia is seriously deteriorating. Because of drought, the Cambodian people could face food shortages and need international aid. Our Soviet Union has been providing Cambodia with scientific and technical assistance and other aid to develop various sectors of the Cambodian national economy.

However, the solution to the Cambodian problem will also be featured at the meeting and during talks in Moscow of the Comrade Cambodian Foreign Minister. The Soviet Union is one of the countries that has worked out the document named the UN Plan for Cambodia, the plan whose draft was unanimously endorsed last year in Paris by representatives of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, and Indonesia's representative. The countries that have worked out this plan have tried to look at every angle of the major aspects of a solution and the interests of each Cambodian party involved in the conflict. The tripartite opposing Cambodian group has agreed to the UN plan. This plan has also been generally adopted by the Cambodian Government. However, Phnom Penh opposes some points of the plan. What are these points?

In Phnom Penh's view, this plan does not really provide guarantees against the Pol Pot regime returning to power. Phnom Penh is still skeptical that the United Nations will be able to effectively control the process to disarm the opposition groups. Phnom Penh also opposes UN control over a number of ministries of the current Cambodian Government. Due to criticism from Phnom Penh and differences of opinion between the warring parties, the UN Plan seems to have been left in the air.

The Cambodian problem is causing concern in the world, particularly in countries in the region. This issue was discussed at the recent summit in Tokyo of the Soviet president. The Japanese-Soviet joint communique stressed the importance of the UN plan for solving the Cambodian problem and the need to make further efforts to implement this plan.

Apparently, at the talks in Moscow with the Cambodian minister, efforts will be made to search for a solution that could save the current situation from being deadlocked, particularly at the moment when conditions, which are not bad, have been created for making mutual concessions. Furthermore, Washington has officially announced the end of military aid to opposing Cambodian groups. As for neighboring Vietnam and Laos, they have expressed readiness to ban the transport of weapons to Cambodia through their territories.

I personally hope that the talks in Moscow will positively contribute to solving the Cambodian problem, concludes our commentator (Aleksey Kondrachev).

Hor Namhong Departs 24 Apr

LD2404124591 Moscow TASS in English 1229 GMT 24 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow April 24 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev and Cambodian Foreign Minister Hor Namhong, who is in Moscow on a working visit, ended talks here that dealt in detail with a Cambodian settlement.

The Cambodian Foreign Minister on Tuesday discussed the settlement with his Soviet counterpart Aleksandr Bessmertnykh.

They agreed that the package of draft related documents prepared by the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and the co-chairmen of the International Paris Conference on Cambodia is a real basis for a comprehensive political solution to the Cambodian problem.

Hor Namhong leaves Moscow today.

Commentary on USSR as ASEAN Dialogue Partner

BK2404145391 Moscow in Indonesian to Indonesia 1100 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Vladimir Viktorov commentary]

[Text] Thai Foreign Minister Asa Sarasin says Bangkok, in principle, has no objection to the idea of giving the Soviet Union official status as an ASEAN dialogue partner. Up to now, only the United States, Japan, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the EC countries are ASEAN dialogue partners through periodic meetings between them. The inclusion of the Soviet Union, one of the superpowers directly involved in Asia-Pacific affairs, into this group of dialogue partners is a logical consequence, especially in view of the recent state visit to Japan by Mikhail Gorbachev. Many observers view this visit as evidence of the high priority placed by the Soviet Union on pursuing its foreign policy.

The visit should not only be viewed from the angle of official talks between the two countries' leaders, but it also shows that the Soviet Union has made a breakthrough in initiating dialogue with several countries. In this connection, there is always a possibility of utilitizing the increasingly growing opportunities to upgrade mutually beneficial cooperation in various fields. To cite an example, there is growing trade, as evidenced by the value of exports and imports, between the Soviet Union and Thailand, Indonesia, and Singapore. More joint ventures are also being established. ASEAN countries are becoming more interested in setting up exclusive economic zones in the Soviet Far East. However, it must be remembered that ASEAN countries and their trading partners are far richer than the Soviet Union because Southeast Asia has proved to be the most dynamic region as far as economic growth is concerned.

The Soviet Union and ASEAN countries often adopt similar stands toward key political issues in the Asia-Pacific region, for example, the issue of regional security. In this connection, Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal during his talks with Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu in Tokyo has invited positive responses from various circles in the region. The Soviet president called for the early convening of a forum to be attended by the world's five most populous countries to discuss security and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region. The Soviet leader also believes that a meeting by all foreign ministers of Asia-Pacific countries will bring about positive results.

Expressing his appreciation of the Soviet initiatives, Philippine Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus said his country supports any proposal to reduce regional tension. In view of the unique nature of the Asia-Pacific, the Soviet Union attaches great importance to holding dialogue with ASEAN countries and building a sense of mutual trust. Initial contacts will result in ideas that interest the whole region. It is also important to seek several minority views on the region, and then it will be possible later to reach a point of convergence and initiate a major trend toward cooperation and mutual understanding.

Progress Noted in Renewal of U.S.-SRV Ties

BK2404162791 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1200 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Aleksey Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] Dear friends: We have received a report from Hanoi that a special U.S. representative office will be opened there in the near future to resolve cases of American soldiers missing during the Indochina war. You are invited to listen to the following commentary by our observer Aleksey Nikolayev:

This will be the first official U.S. representation in Vietnam. An agreement in principle concerning this question was reached last fall during Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach's visit to the United States. That was followed by Mr. Thach's meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Baker. At the meeting the two sides stressed the necessity of improving U.S.-Vietnam relations. The upcoming opening of the U.S. representation in Hanoi is seen by the Japanese news agency KYODO as the first step to paving the way for normalization of Washington-Hanoi ties. Observers stress that the initiative to press forward with the inauguration of the office of representation was advanced by the U.S. side. U.S. Special Envoy Retired General John Vessey recently paid a visit to Vietnam and made a request on this issue, and the Vietnamese side responded. A joint statement released on the visit affirmed both sides' desire for the eventual normalization of U.S.-Vietnam relations and the continuation of talks between the two countries.

Everyone knows that Washington recently proposed a concrete plan for a step-by-step normalization of its relations with Vietnam. The plan links this process with a definitive accounting of the fate of the American soldiers missing in action in Vietnam and the settlement of the Cambodia issue. As can be clearly seen from the Vietnamese foreign minister's statement, Hanoi is studying the U.S. proposal. However, according to previous statements by Vietnamese officials, Hanoi holds that it is a total normalization of relations with the United States that will permit acceleration of the settlement of the issues currently causing concern to the U.S. side.

But, one way or another, the process of improving Vietnam-U.S. relations is progressing. The upcoming opening of the U.S. official representation in Hanoi is irrefutable proof of this trend. We can also clearly see the desire of U.S. business circles to move toward cooperation with Vietnam in defiance of the trade embargo against Vietnam that is still in effect. An Alliance for Normalization of Relations With Vietnam has been founded in the United States comprising nearly 25 trading companies and corporations. The alliance's aim is to struggle for the abolition of economic sanctions

against Vietnam. Recently, many U.S businessmen visited Vietnam to lay the groundwork for future cooperation. Private U.S. companies have signed contracts with Vietnamese customers. Other companies have actively begun operations in Vietnam under joint ventures with other countries, such as Singapore and Japan. Last month, U.S. Senators Robert Kerrey and John McCain paid a visit to Hanoi. I consider the trip by the two senators, who once took part in the Vietnam war, a highly symbolic gesture. At present, the two are among those Americans who strongly support an early normalization of U.S.-Vietnam relations.

Near East & South Asia

Bessmertnykh Previews Talks With Baker

LD2504092891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0615 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Kislovodsk, North Caucasus, 25 Apr (TASS)—The Soviet Union and the United States consider that an opportunity for a settlement of one of the most protracted conflicts—the Near East conflict—has now made its appearance, and therefore today's task is not to miss this chance to make maximum use of it. Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh has stated. He met a group of Soviet journalists before the opening of another working meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker here on 25 April. The head of the U.S. State Department arrived here on Wednesday from Damascus, and at the end of his talks in the Caucasus he will continue his tour of countries of the Near East.

It is the search for a joint formula for getting the process of a Near East settlement under way that is the aim of my present meeting with James Baker, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh continued. Before that there was active preliminary work; the USSR maintained active contacts with the main Arab countries by means of correspondence and telephone conversations. Arab leaders have been coming to Moscow, there have been contacts with the Israelis, and I have just been meeting Palestinians, the Soviet minister said. In turn, since the day the war in the Persian Gulf ended, James Baker has visited the countries of the Near East region three times. It should be said, Bessmertnykh noted, that not everything went smoothly during his talks in the Near East. That is why he asked me urgently to hold this meeting. We shall see what the present meeting in Kislovodsk will produce.

The complexity of the task, the minister believes, lies in the fact that the positions of all the sides are "crystal clear" and a common platform of action for the current stage must be discussed and found quietly, without haste.

In Bessmertnykh's opinion, "the chance that has appeared" to find a solution to many problems of the region, including the Palestinian one, is a special feature of the present situation—a solution, which, according to him, would suit the Palestinians and at the same time "would not irritate anyone."

The minister thinks that the Soviet side is embarking on negotiations after having done considerable preparatory work. Today the role as well as the activities of the Soviet Union n the Near East are no less concrete and effective than before, stressed Bessmertnykh.

The fact that the United States has started to cooperate actively in all stages of the work to search for a settlement formula, is testimony to this. He stressed that this is "an active, businesslike, and pragmatic line, although, perhaps, not so glamorous."

Bessmertnykh has reported that in the first half of May he intends to visit a number of the countries in the Near East and conduct negotiations with the interested sides on the complex of questions regarding the settlement which, he expects, will become "a stage-by-stage process." The first stage of this process will be a "regional" or "regional peace" conference—its title has not yet been established—"and the title is not that important," the Soviet minister thinks. After that, negotiations will be held with the Palestinians and, as a natural finale, broad international conference on the Near East will be convened.

The Soviet minister also said that the meeting in Kislovodsk will quite obviously not be restricted to a discussion of Near East problems only. There will also be an examination of questions of disarmament, conventional weapons, the signing of a treaty on strategic offensive weapons—(its elaboration, in Bessmertnykh's opinion, will take not more than three weeks), and also bilateral relations. In this connection, he stressed, it is possible that another meeting will have to be held with U.S. Secretary of State Baker.

The minister believes that "the framework of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting" (planned for the first half of this year) should be preserved. The signing of the relevant agreement on strategic offensive weapons is desirable at this meeting, Bessmertnykh said. But, he believes, this linkage is not essential for the holding of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting.

Announces Planned Israel Visit

LD2504093991 Moscow TASS in English 0921 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Kislovodsk, Northern Caucasus, April 25 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh told journalists before the beginning of talks with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Kislovodsk, Northern Caucasus, that he plans to visit Israel in May. It was reported earlier that Bessmertnykh's trip to Middle Eastern countries would take place very soon.

Bessmertnykh stressed that his visit to Israel would take place irrespective of the results of the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Kislovodsk. The itinerary and the exact date of the trip are being agreed upon now.

Asked if diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel will be established, Bessmertnykh said: "Our relations with Israel are developing and if this tendency is continued in future, there will be no difficulties in establishing full diplomatic relations."

Baker Mideast Tour, Israeli 'Obstacles' Viewed

LD2404184591 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Aleksey Zlatorunskiy commentary: "James Baker's Middle East Tour—Assessments and Ideas"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has concluded a large part of his Middle East tour, which is the third in the past month. It has been announced in Moscow that Baker will meet with his Soviet counterpart Aleksandr Bessmertnykh in Kislodovsk tomorrow. Reports from Washington say that after his talks with the Soviet minister Baker will return to Jerusalem to inform the Israeli leadership about the results of his current tour.

The eyes of public opinion, particularly in the Middle East countries, have in recent days been focused on the U.S. secretary of state's tour of the Middle East. It is worth recalling that after a short stopover in Luxembourg and talks with the EC foreign ministers, Baker visited Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Syria. During this tour he also met with a delegation representing the Palestinians of the occupied territories. The main objective of the U.S. secretary of state's talks with the heads of state and government and the foreign ministers of the countries he visited is, as was officially announced in Washington, to examine the possibility of holding a regional conference for a Middle East settlement. The United States is of the opinion that such a conference could be the first step toward a political solution of the Middle East conflict.

What has Baker succeeded in achieving? It is premature now to give the final results of this tour, but even on the strength of the official news some conclusions can be drawn. The first of these conclusions is, in my opinion, that the idea of a regional confernece has not been rejected by the Arab countries. Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Kuwait have backed it and Jordan has also supported it, albeit with some reservations. Syria also pointed to some positive aspects in the U.S. initiative during Baker's talks with President Hafiz al-Asad, which lasted several hours.

The Palestinian delegation that the U.S. secretary of state met also adopted a constructive stand. In practice, the two main concerns of Baker's interlocutors were: First, how will the Palestinian problem be solved at the regional conference and how will the Palestinians be represented at that conference? Second, will that conference not be incompatible with Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which call for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied territories and which constitute the basis for any settlement in the region? As was expected, Israel, or to be more accurate, its present leadership, was the party most opposed even to a regional conference for a settlement in the Middle East. Naturally, it is not in general against the holding of a regional conference under UN auspices, but it attaches some conditions to that: no Palestinian delegation should attend it, the principle of land for peace should not be the basis of a settlement at this conference, and the conference should only be the start of bilateral talks between Israel and each Arab country separately.

In short, we are faced with Shamir's well-known refusals. Israel is today witnessing a rapid polarization of forces and many local commentators are predicting the fall of Shamir's government. Furthermore, the right-wingers, such as Housing Minister Ariel Sharon, have been noticeably active. Under his encouragement, demonstrations of a clearly provocative nature are being staged by the Jewish settlers in the occupied territories. New Jewish settlements are being built quickly and the existing ones are being extended. As a result, further obstacles are being put on the road to a political settlement of the Middle East conflict. Will Baker manage to convince the Israelis of the unproductive nature of such a policy based on expansion? I believe that we will be able to reply to this question in a few days' time.

Bessmertnykh Receives PLO Delegation

LD2404205391 Moscow TASS in English 2014 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 24 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh on Wednesday received members of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation Mahmud 'Abbas, Yasir 'Abd - Rabbuh and Sulayman al-Najjab, who arrived in Moscow for Soviet-Palestine consultations on the Middle East.

The sides focused on prospects for settling the Arab-Israeli conflict, taking into account variants and approaches proposed now to promote the peace process and stabilise the situation in the region.

Palestinian leaders were informed about the measures taken and planned by the Soviet Union to resolve the conflict and praised Soviet initiatives.

The sides reiterated their positions aimed to consistently seek a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, including of the Palestinian issue as a key problem.

The sides agreed to continue active contacts in the interests of the earliest possible settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

First Official Delegation Departs for Kuwait

LD2304162891 Moscow TASS in English 1438 GMT 23 Apr 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow April 23 TASS—The first Soviet official delegation, including specialists in fire extinguishing and led by First Deputy Oil and Gas Industry Minister Boris Nikitin, has left for Kuwait, a spokesman for the Kuwaiti Embassy in Moscow told TASS.

The delegation will get acquainted with the situation and discuss with the Kuwaiti side the possibility of Soviet participation in killing fires at oil wells and returning them to operations.

The spokesman noted that the Kuwaiti Embassy continually receives proposals from Soviet citizens and organisations wishing to take part in fire fighting at Kuwaiti oil wells. Such proposals often prove extremely difficult to implement, as it is necessary not only to extinguish the fire, but to stop oil leaks and return wells to operation.

Expressing gratitude for the readiness to help, the spokesman noted that the Kuwaiti side is interested in cooperating with the Soviet Union at a governmental level, as in its opinion, only this level can provide guarantees for implementing a whole complex of work and ensure material supplies.

Officers Leave for Gulf as UN Observers

PM2404174191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Apr 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report by N. Burbyga: "Soviet Servicemen in Persian Gulf Zone"]

[Text] A group of Soviet officers flew from Moscow to Baghdad on 23 April. They have been assigned a one-year mission as UN military observers on the border between Iraq and Kuwait. The group is headed by Colonel O. Ovechkin.

The Defense Ministry Press Center announced that the intention to send 20 Soviet officers to the Iraq-Kuwait border arose in accordance with a UN Security Council decision. All the officers have undergone special training—they speak fluent English, they can drive, and they have an excellent knowledge of the types of combat equipment used by those involved in the conflict.

The military observers' main task is to study and analyze the situation in the border areas between the two countries as well as to keep the United Nations informed about everything that is happening.

Observations will be carried out by means of patrols in vehicles and helicopters.

Afghan Army Political Chief Interviewed

PM2404143291 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Apr 91 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Colonel General Manoki Mangal, member of the Central Council of the Fatherland Party of the Republic of Afghanistan and chief of the Afghan Army Main Political Directorate, by special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik in Kabul—date not given: "Tragedy for All the People"]

[Text] Our special correspondent in Kabul met with Colonel General Manoki Mangal, member of the Central Council of the Fatherland Party of the Republic of Afghanistan and chief of the Afghan Army Main Political Directorate, and interviewed him:

[Oliynik] Comrade Colonel General, after the seizure of Khowst by the armed opposition, some of the mass media, and not only in the West, are concluding that government troops are losing the strategic initiative. What would you say about that?

[Mangal] Indeed, the radio and press in many countries of the world devoted great attention to the rebels' combat operations to take the city of Khowst. Unfortunately they did not always adhere to the truth in so doing. Our troops left that ancient city only after the ninth assault, in which, alongside the mujahidin, Pakistani regular army troops and Arab mercenaries took part. And that was the main reason for the fall of Khowst. The war is a tragedy for all our people, who are infinitely tired of cruel and futile fratricide. That is why more and more Afghans are resolutely supporting the government's efforts at national reconciliation.

[Oliynik] What specific measures has the government adopted for these purposes?

[Mangal] The reform of Afghanistan's political system has taken major steps along this path. In the fundamental law the thesis on socialist building has been dropped, the right for all tribes to choose their own path of development is recognized, the one-party monopoly of power has been abolished, the position of the Islamic religion has been restored, and finally, a government has been formed on a multiparty basis. The Afghanistan Peace Front has been set up to unite all national patriotic forces, including those that are in opposition.

Now to the military aspect of the matter. Our republic's armed forces, inheriting the Soviet Army's experience, not only withstood the onslaught of the armed opposition in their own right, but also carried out a series of successful combat operations. Last year, for instance, was a year of victories for us. So the conclusions of certain mass media concerning the loss of initiative by our troops are too hasty. Of course, we are very well aware that the loss of Khowst is a major blow to the Army, especially as regards morale. But I am sure we will soon regain that city.

[Oliynik] How is the military-political situation in the country developing now in general, where are the hottest spots?

[Mangal] As in past years, they are in the regions bordering on Pakistan. Jalalabad, Gardeyz, Qandahar... It is here that the rebels are preparing intensively for active combat operations and concentrating their forces and resources for future offensives. In the Kabul zone, according to our information, the opposition is also accumulating forces for shelling the city and the international airport and blocking the road to Jalalabad. The situation is also worrisome in the Herat region, where the overall leader, "Captain" Ismail, intends to launch a massive offensive at the end of April. There has been a sharp intensification of the rebels' shelling of peaceful cities and villages, primarily Kabul, Bagram, Qandahar, Qalat, Gardeyz, and a number of others. The military-political situation in the country remains complex and contradictory, and requires us to mobilize all forces and resources to defend the motherland.

[Oliynik] These April days mark the third anniversary of the signing of the well-known agreements in Geneva with UN help, agreements that played an important role in bringing about the Soviet troops' withdrawal from Afghanistan. But in my view one cannot speak of the complete observance of these accords. What would you say on this point?

[Mangal] Indeed, the agreements signed in Geneva with UN participation played an important part in easing the Afghan conflict. For a long time now there have been no Soviet troops in the country, and it was on account of them, so the mujahidin asserted, that the "jihad," the "holy war," began—and yet the cruel, bloody war goes on. In this context I can say with confidence that blood would not be flowing in Afghanistan today if the United States and Pakistan had completely fulfilled the commitments they assumed in Geneva. Whereas Afghanistan and the Soviet Union are adhering fully to the Geneva agreements, Pakistan and the United States are virtually ignoring them. American weapons are still being passed to the rebels via Pakistani territory, and rebel base camps and training centers are in operation. The so-called "transitional government," headed by Mojadeddi, has entrenched itself in Peshawar. With the help of the American and Pakistani special services, a program has been adopted—and is being widely implemented—for a "new stage in psychological warfare" against the Republic of Afghanistan, in which the main targets of propaganda efforts are Afghan Army servicemen, the patriotically minded Muslim clergy, and young people. Nearly every week the republic Foreign Ministry sends to the UN representatives in Kabul notes about all the instances of Pakistan's violating the Geneva agreements. President Najibullah spoke about this at a recent meeting with Mr. Sevan [name as transliterated], the UN secretary general's special representative. In short, we are totally in favor of all sides adhering strictly to the agreements adopted in Geneva in their approach to the settlement of the Afghan conflict.

[Oliynik] What are your personal relations like, the attitude of Afghan Army officers and men toward Soviet military specialists, a small proportion of whom are continuing to fulfill their mission and giving technical assistance in helping personnel to master combat equipment and weapons?

[Mangal] As you know, there is a group of Soviet military specialists in our country, in accordance with an agreement. Incidentally, Soviet specialists and advisers came to our country for the first time back in the twenties, and were here under all the monarchist regimes. I can say quite certainly that the assistance that the Soviet comrades are providing at the present moment has a substantial effect on our Army's combat readiness and its technical might and mobility. This is particularly important for such military specialities as the sappers, tankmen, airmen, and artillerymen. I would like to take this opportunity to name some of them: L. Myachin, L. Timin, S. Tomashevskiy, Yu. Tyulkov, V. Kunitsyn, S. Kobylyaka. These and many other Soviet comrades are not only excellent specialists in their field and skilled organizers, but also bold and fearless people who have risked their lives repeatedly. The Army's servicemen know this, and value it.

TASS Report on Afghan City Explosions

LD2404201791 Moscow TASS in English 1830 GMT 24 Apr 91

[By TASS news analyst Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 24 TASS—Western news agencies reported that Asadabad, the centre of Afghan province Kunar, was shelled last Sunday by Scud missiles, allegedly fired from somewhere near Kabul.

A spokesman for the rebels, "minister of information of the transitional government of Afghanistan", Najibullah Lafrei, claimed that some 500 people were killed and more than 700 wounded as a result of explosions in the centre of the city.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry said in an official statement that the tragic events in Asadabad were the result of rivalry between two rebel groups in Kunar. Militants of one of the detachments of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan", led by notorious Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, attacked their rivals in the struggle for power in the province, from the Wahhabit organisation Ahl-e Hadis.

A fire started during the fighting, blowing up arms depots and a fuel storage. The statement points out that government troops did not shell Asadabad with rockets. Rebel leaders dismissed Kabul's statement as "ungrounded".

These are two versions that essentially exclude each other. Let us sort this problem by invoking elementary logic. Units of the Afghan army left the city way back in October 1988. After that power in Kunar province was seized by numerous rebel groups that were constantly

feuding with one another. So, it could be just as another outbreak of combat operations between them.

Explosions took place in the part of the market, known for thriving business in arms and ammunition, wiping out 70 stalls with this merchandise. One of the merchants, Mian Rasul, said in an interview that he offered everything for sale, including Egyptian- made "ground-to-ground" missiles. Small wonder that this explosive merchandise blew up. Lafrei claimed that no one in the city has large stocks of ammunition. In this connection, I would like to remind to the minister that Pakistanis and Afghans have vivid memories of a devastating explosion in Faydzabad near Islamabad, where in April 1988 hundreds of tons of U.S.-made weapons, intended for "the forces of Afghan resistance" were reduced to rubble. Or a powerful explosion a couple of years ago at an arms depot of Burhanuddin Rabbani-led "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" near Peshawar. It is not accidental that Western journalists flooding Asadabad drew parallels with the nature of the explosions and the death toll in Faydzabad.

The reaction of some states, which believed fabrications of the Peshawar leaders, is surprising. Islamabad said "crimes of the kabul regime" undermine the chances of a political settlement in Afghanistan. Washington expressed "concern" over the bloodshed in Asadabad and informed Moscow about it. None of those "expressing concern" over civilians even mentioned missiles of Western or any other make that every day drop on Afghan cities, killing innocent people.

In my view, the tragedy of Asadabad provided a graphic proof that Afghanistan is oversaturated with deadly types of weapons, which only contribute to an escalation of the bloodshed. One wants to hope that explosions in the centre of Kunar Province would refocus the attention of the world public on an obvious truth: It is necessary to step up movement towards a political settlement of the Afghan problem. Kabul is prepared for that. It is now the turn of Washington and Islamabad.

However, there is every indication to believe that after the capture of Khowst by Mujahidin, the U.S. and Pakistan are in no hurry to take that road.

East Europe

Talks on Cooperation With CSFR Continue

LD2504082591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0115 GMT 25 AApr 91

[By TASS correspondent Anatoliy Shapovalov]

[Text] Prague, 25 Apr (TASS)—On Wednesday here another round of the talks on agreeing the draft treaty "on good neighborliness, friendly relations, and cooperation between the CSFR and USSR" was completed. The talks were conducted by Zdenek Matejka and Yuliy Kvitsinskiy, deputy foreign ministers of the CSFR and USSR.

These talks, noted Mechislav Senkevich, head of the Third European Administration of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in a conversation with the TASS correspondent, have been characterized by a common commitment and concern on the problems of European space. Considerable attention was paid to questions of the conference on the human dimension, the holding of which is planned for September this year in Moscow.

Despite the existence of various points of view on certain aspects of relations between the CSFR and USSR in the recent past, the sides were united in the opinion, M. Senkevich pointed out, that it is necessary to step up efforts to strengthen and expand economic, political, and cultural cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

Albanian Diplomat Arrives in Moscow 17 April

PM2304152591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Apr 91 Union Edition p 7

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Pertef Hasamataj, Albanian charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, arrived in Moscow 17 April, accompanied by Albanian Embassy personnel.

Meets Deputy Foreign Minister

LD2404221591 Tirana International Service in English 2130 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] On 23 April the deputy foreign minister of the Soviet Union, Yuliy Kvitsinskiy, received the charge d'affaires ad interim of Albania in Moscow, Pertef Hasamataj.

In the talks conducted on this occasion, the deputy foreign minister of the Soviet Union said the steps made so far in the bilateral relations [as heard] and expressed the desire for their intensive development lending them a new (?character) in all fields.

The deputy foreign minister of the Soviet Union reiterated the support of that country to Albania's (?admittance) into the CSCE with full rights.

At this meeting attention was also focused on the problems of the Balkans and the desire was stressed that the current difficulties in the region would not lead to conflicts, that the Balkans will become a region of good understanding and cooperation; and (?then) the issues of reciprocal interest were also discussed.

Soviet, Hungarian Legislators Discuss Ties

PM2404110591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Apr 91 Union Edition p 5

[TASS report under general headline: "Official Reports"]

[Text] R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, received a delegation of the Hungarian National Assembly headed by G. Horn, chairman of its Foreign Affairs Commission, in the Kremlin 15 April. The Hungarian parliamentarians also attended a meeting at the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee hosted by its chairman, A.S. Dzasokhov.

During talks there was a businesslike, concrete discussion which centered on questions of the status of Soviet-Hungarian relations in the light of the new political treaty between the USSR and Hungary which is in preparation.

Members of the Hungarian National Assembly reported on the progress of political and economic transformations in their country and noted the importance for Hungary of good-neighborly and mutually advantageous relations with the USSR.

On 15 April Yu.A. Kvitsinskiy, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, received the delegation of the Hungarian National Assembly Commission for Foreign Affairs headed by its chairman, G. Horn.

A thorough exchange of opinions was held on the state of and prospects for Soviet-Hungarian relations, the situation in Europe in the context of the further development of the all-European process, and the formation of new security and cooperation structures in the continent.

Shifts in Ties With Eastern Europe Viewed

PM2404100391 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Apr 91 First Edition p 5

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Kaznacheyev under "USSR-East Europe" rubric: "Hopes and Illusions"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] In the last 18 months to two years the scenario and political situation in East Europe have changed with such staggering rapidity that they have exceeded all forecasts. And yet the events of recent months provide the opportunity of making an analysis and trying to predict how the changes that have taken place will be reflected in relations between the USSR and the region's countries, which in a most direct way has a bearing on our national security. Political scientist and Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Kaznacheyev gives his assessments on the events that are taking place.

East Europe's political and ideological face has changed cardinally. The previous system of power in the region's countries has been destroyed. The former ruling parties have receded into the background. Some of their leaders left the arena of the power struggle with dignity. Others paid with their good name—and sometimes with their lives, too. In point of fact the changes that are taking place are changing the social order and asserting new moral values in these countries and are reorienting their foreign policy.

Up until now the processes taking place have mainly been of a superstructural nature. Sometimes they have disrupted society's economic structure even further. The new parties that have ended up at the helm and declared the intention to "return to Europe" and to a system of "equal opportunities" as quickly as possible are encountering serious economic difficulties. These have been caused by the underdevelopment of the infrastructure, the backwardness of technology, the uncompetitiveness of output, and high foreign indebtedness. It is unlikely that they will be able to count on any significant capital investments from outside in the foreseeable future.

All this undoubtedly requires a new interpretation of our interests, aims, and strategy in East Europe. Whether it will prove possible to build them in such a way that they guarantee the Soviet Union lasting and stable positions in this region largely depends on our policies and the timely creation of a considered concept of our relations with our East European neighbors. To do this we must look back and analyze our mistakes, which in many respects have helped create a situation wherein our partners have now turned toward the West.

I will dwell on questions of spiritual cooperation, which are closest to my field of activity. Critically assessing the experience that has been accumulated, one cannot fail to admit that the problem of communist ideology's development was not resolved. This was prevented by dogmatic, stereotyped approaches to Marxism-Leninism and the fear of scrapping its outdated conclusions. Certain parties have shown extreme wariness of the concept of the new political thinking proposed and developed by the CPSU. Individual countries have had a formal attitude toward cooperation with the CPSU in working out the problems of perestroyka and the renewal of socialism. Words of support for the processes of perestroyka in the USSR have been proclaimed and similar resolutions have been adopted, but in reality the previous authoritarian and bureaucratic system has been preserved. And this has reduced the adopted resolutions to abstract theorizing and sapped them of their thrust toward perestroyka and the renewal of socialism.

The stereotypes of "party diplomacy" and the fear that the other side will treat frank comments of one sort or another as interference in its internal affairs have also prevented a serious exchange of experience and opinions. Thus, the CPSU did not venture (or at least did it very carefully and even timorously) to criticize the falling away of individual countries (Poland, Hungary) toward Western standards, or fraternal parties for losing their face and their ties with the masses. They in turn did

not aspire to critically analyze the Soviet experience of perestroyka or learn lessons from it, maintaining a certain passivity and an assuredness that time had stopped forever and that their power was unshakable.

Ideological cooperation basically boiled down to collaboration between communist parties and the organs and organizations under their complete influence or control. This also applies to educational and scientific centers (party centers as a rule). As a result considerable sections of the population, particularly the intelligentsia, students, and parties of other persuasions, were excluded from this process. Likewise the social potential of "informal" movements and organizations was underestimated. The alienation of parties from the masses, including the working class, intensified. This was graphically shown by the events at the end of 1989.

Criticism of the Stalinist model of socialism frequently turned into the blackening of the entire historical experience of socialist building in the USSR and other countries. This phenomenon was particularly widespread in Poland and Hungary, and then in Czechoslovakia and the GDR. It became one of the most important factors influencing the surrender of socialism's positions.

This was noted by Western Sovietologists. Zbigniew Brzezinski wrote: "Communist ideology is being discredited not only under the influence of practical experience but also by the efforts of the communist rulers themselves. Engaging in their own kind of historical striptease, they decline to, as it were, cast off the layers of their doctrinaire past one by one. Orthodox Communists must ask themselves just what remains of their ideological heritage once they have heard that 20 years of Brezhnevism are condemned as an era of stagnation and corruption, that Khrushchev, previously condemned for a decade of "harebrained schemes," was the first forerunner of perestroyka; and when they became witnesses to the way a quarter of a century of Stalinism is held up to shame as a time of continuous crimes; and when some of them themselves whisper that Gorbachev's revisionism paves the way to the actual rejection of Leninism."

Carried away by the very process of the struggle against our ideological adversaries in the West, we thereby frequently ignored some of their realistic and sober assessments of the state of and prospects for the socialist countries' development. We did not heed the voices of certain progressive Western authors who quite frankly stated their governments' policies aimed at eliminating the regimes existing in East Europe. Thus, in the words of F. Vaksman [name as transliterated], "America's most important national security task in the postwar period was to stimulate the process of the ideological and political transformation of government systems in the USSR and East European countries." And of course the reason was that, in staking everything on, so to speak, "ideology in its pure form," nobody took account of the other side of the coin—the economic side.

At the same time, in a sense the worth of East Europe was understated by the very possibility of the USSR's securing a new level of mutual understanding with the West in the economic sphere. What told here were the illusory hopes that it was possible quickly and without particular cost to reorient our foreign policy ties with East Europe toward the West and almost immediately derive great benefit from this. Pressure from the mass media, most of which presented our mutual ties with East Europe as unnecessary and unfavorable to the Soviet people, also had its consequences.

As a result the former model of relations between the Soviet Union and East European countries has collapsed, but no new system has come to replace the old one. At this complex and crucial moment in time, when the foundations of mutual relations are being laid for the future, Soviet policy in East Europe is operating without a precise strategic concept, without a clear definition of aims. Against the background of the West's active penetration into this region such a position is perceived as a loss of interest on our part, as the Soviet Union's departure—a departure not capable of rational explanation—from the former community without taking account of the enormous material and spiritual investments made by us.

Undoubtedly the fundamental changes in East Europe are significantly changing the role that it previously played for the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, by reason of its proximity to us in the geopolitical, historicopolitical, and ethnocultural respects this region must remain one of the most important priorities of Soviet policy, although the situation for us there has become extremely complicated.

Yet another danger threatening our mutual relations is associated with the authoritarian and nationalist tendencies being exhibited by states neighboring ours. While in these countries perestroyka was previously considered a factor helping them to reform their regimes from democratic positions, now their leaderships do not stop at interference in the USSR's internal affairs and come out in concert with those in this country who cast doubt on the USSR's socialist perspective and existence as an integral state.

CEMA is ceasing its activities, and the Warsaw Pact's fate has been decided. East European countries are exploring the prospects for establishing close ties with the EEC and other all-European bodies. There is evidence of a desire to secure Germany's goodwill, primarily in the economic sphere. And here we must not completely exclude the threat of the aggravation of interstate relations in the region, to the point of regional conflicts and the creation of a zone of instability along the Soviet Union's western borders.

In these conditions the basic directions of the new concept of mutual relations with the countries of the East European region could be as follows: Preserving priority bilateral political ties with them, holding multilateral

consultative meetings, concluding qualitatively new bilateral treaties, opposing the entry of our former military allies into other military blocs and groupings, and forging firm contacts with leading political forces in the East European countries—both incumbent and opposition forces—in order to preserve the continuity of our bilateral relations during possible changes in the said countries.

We must make every effort to neutralize or at least weaken the anti-Soviet tendencies in these countries. We must no longer drag our feet in eradicating the "blank spots" in the history of our relations and in creating the conditions for expanding cultural-informational and human exchanges and tourist ties, pursuing a policy of openness, and restoring our "presence" in the region by utilizing both the previous ethnocultural baggage and new contacts.

We have considerable opportunities for preserving and strengthening our cultural presence in East Europe and interest in the Russian language, literature, and art. Of course, this requires material expenditure, but is it really possible to economize on sowing if you want to gather a big harvest: If you don't sow you don't reap.

The "piggy bank" for our future mutual relations also contains such vindicated forms of cooperation as the people's diplomacy movement, local ties, linked cities, and cultural exchanges, including translated literature and drama. But all bureaucratic obstacles here must be cleared out of the way.

It should also be recalled that East European countries are above all else vitally interested in deliveries of energy resources from the USSR (currently 70-80 percent of oil requirements and 95-100 percent of gas requirements are met from Soviet sources), as well as certain types of raw materials. Weakening this "attachment" by disrupting Soviet supplies is not in our interests.

The Soviet market is also of great interest to our partners in the region. However, it would be a serious mistake not to meet strictly contractual commitments. After all, sensible people who have not yielded to the political ambitions of state leaders also have the desire to preserve mutually advantageous good-neighborliness.

Recently Polish Foreign Minister Skubiszewski stated at a Warsaw news conference that his country attaches great importance to relations with the Soviet Union on a new basis, and although talks on concluding a treaty have not yet started, the Polish Foreign Ministry has already fully prepared a draft of such a treaty which will soon be handed over to the USSR Government. A similar draft is being formulated by the Soviet side. A formula for Soviet-Polish cooperation in the security sphere is being considered.

All this inspires hope in the triumph of reason, in a balanced approach, trust, and effective cooperation with the Republic of Poland. And the hope that other East European countries will follow Poland.

West Europe

Gorbachev Phone Conversation With Kohl Reported

PM2504074591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 91 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Discussion Between M.S. Gorbachev and H. Kohl"]

[Text] The USSR president and the FRG chancellor had a half-hour friendly telephone conversation 24 April within the framework of their regular contacts.

Helmut Kohl inquired about the anticrisis program and was informed about its content, aims, and significance in tackling the most acute immediate tasks and advancing toward a market economy. M.S. Gorbachev expressed his gratitude for the effective solidarity at this difficult time for our country. Speaking about yesterday's meeting of nine republic leaders and the joint document adopted there, he expressed a high opinion of their fundamental significance for stabilizing the economic and political process.

They exchanged opinions on aid for Iraqi refugees. The president voiced his support for the steps that are being taken, regarding them as purely humanitarian. They agreed to continue their discussion of this and other questions in the near future.

Lukyanov Assesses Outcome of French Visit

PM2404112091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Apr 91 Union Edition p 5

[Correspondent Yu. Kovalenko report: "A. Lukyanov: 'France Is Committed to the Success of Perestroyka'"]

[Text] Paris—A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is concluding a visit to France, where he was invited by L. Fabius, speaker of the National Assembly. He has had meetings with President F. Mitterrand, Foreign Minister R. Dumas, L. Fabius, Defense Minister P. Joxe, R. Badinter, chairman of the Constitutional Council, and the chairmen of parliamentary groups and leaders of political parties.

"Our meeting with F. Mitterrand," A.I. Lukyanov said in an interview that he gave to me, "was extremely frank and touched upon all aspects of Soviet-French relations and the problems of the internal situation in our country. My relations with the French president, whom I have met several times, are based on mutual trust, and on this occasion I once again saw a man who understands our difficulties very well. He shares the concern of the Soviet president for the country's future and at the same time is prepared to give M.S. Gorbachev every kind of support in all his undertakings. To support him politically, by introducing certain ideas into EC development. To give him moral support—the two presidents are also bound by deep personal relations. To encourage various contacts between France and the USSR, first and foremost

through French business. In short, France is full of the desire to help the processes that are under way in the USSR and is striving to prevent our country from disintegrating.

"During F. Mitterrand's visit to Moscow, which will take place 6 May," A.I. Lukyanov continued, "we shall first of all take a sounding of collaboration between the two countries. The USSR president will give F. Mitterrand a detailed account of what is going on in our country, but the main thing is to coordinate our positions on issues like disarmament and setting up a common European home or a European East-West confederation, which is what the head of the French Republic favors. Doubtless we shall touch upon problems that are linked to institutionalization of the Helsinki process and questions of bilateral ties. We put a high value on the carefully considered and realistic French position with regard to the processes that are under way in our country.

"At the moment, I think, nothing is impeding the deepening of Soviet-French relations, but the potential possibilities for developing them are very great indeed. In particular we should think through the broadening of economic contacts, where in many fields we could do far more. Finally, there is the resolution of the questions that are written into our Accord and Cooperation Treaty, which has just been ratified almost unanimously by the USSR Supreme Soviet. And on this matter there is a whole series of points that need to be systematically resolved. I can name, for example, cadre training, the expansion of trade turnover, and the setting up of a French cultural center in Moscow and a Soviet center in Paris. However, possibly the main thing is the fact that we want to set up groups in our parliament that will keep a watchful eye on the execution of the Soviet-French treaty.

"I want to note," A.I. Lukyanov continued, "that representatives of all parliamentary groups expressed their commitment to the success of perestroyka, to keeping the Soviet Union intact. Without exception, everybody I talked with said that the disintegration of the Soviet Union would pose an enormous threat both to France and to Europe as a whole, that it would not encourage the strengthening of peace all over the world. The parliamentarians understand this very clearly.

"The majority of them came out in favor of France doing as much as it could to help the processes that are under way in the USSR,—by developing economic ties, refining its credit policy, and increasing its technological assistance. At the same time many deputies said that the instability and social tension in the USSR are making some French firms take a very cautious approach to developing ties with corresponding organizations in our country. I understand them, this is how things are. But a sensible entrepreneur and financier always takes his bearings from the main processes, and these are the move toward the market, the encouragement of foreign investments, and the establishment of joint enterprises."

Speaking about French specialists' assessment of the anticrisis program being prepared in our country, A.I. Lukyanov stressed: From the viewpoint of French economists, this program has been worked out very competently and logically as regards financial recovery. As regards the introduction of market relations, antimonopoly policy, and competition, the program is somewhat weaker.

Bundestag Chairman on Upcoming Lukyanov Visit

PM2404143391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Apr 91 First Edition p 5

["PRAVDA Interview" with Rita Suessmuth, chairman of the Bundestag, by Ye. Grigoryev in Bonn; date not given; first paragraph is introduction: "Trust and Openness"]

[Text] People here are preparing for the official visit of A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, during which he will have meetings and talks in Bonn with FRG leaders. In this connection your PRAVDA correspondent asked Rita Suessmuth, chairman of the Bundestag, to answer a number of questions.

"First and foremost," she said, "I very much welcome the new opportunity for intensive German-Soviet dialogue in connection with Mr. Lukyanov's visit to Germany. The program of the visit stresses inter alia the role of relations between parliaments. The guest will familiarize himself with the federal structure of our country. I believe that the chairman of the Supreme Soviet may obtain interesting information here and it may even be useful on the level of structural changes in the USSR."

In answer to a question about the Soviet parliament's ratification of the "Two Plus Four" treaty and Germany's acquisition of full sovereignty and the resulting impetus to create new structures of European security and the construction of a common European home, the head of the German Parliament said:

"We are very grateful to the Soviet parliament for approving without delay the process that brought united Germany full sovereignty.

"Confrontation has given way to cooperation. The decisive precondition for the process of European unity is the establishment of democratic structures and a free socioeconomic order, as well as the elaboration of new forms of cooperation and security in Europe. The Paris Charter placed the decisive landmarks here in November 1990. We desire security based primarily not on military force but on the internal democratic essence of the states involved, and on trust, openness, and cooperation.

"The CSCE process that was started in Helsinki, whose first phase reached a kind of preliminary conclusion in the signing of the Paris Charter, will continue to assist in lending a new quality to bilateral and multilateral relations between European states. At the same time, all of us, but particularly the USSR, are faced with difficult

problems that must be resolved by political means. The idea is more democracy, more rule-of-law statehood, and more self-determination and autonomy to individual groups and peoples.

"As for the European home that is being talked about so much, then, if I can put it like this, part of the framework has already been prepared. Now it is a matter of a common European team of designers furnishing the space in this house in which families have to settle, in such a way that everyone feels at home there. The necessary order for the home has already been unanimously determined in the Paris Charter for the new Europe."

The next question—on the implementation of Soviet-German treaties and agreements.

"I want one thing first and foremost: For the people of both our states to be able to make full use of the opportunity for mutual acquaintance. Meetings should not be restricted to the political level," Mrs. Suessmuth stressed. "They should affect ordinary Soviet and German citizens as much as possible. I wholeheartedly support the idea of Soviet-German exchanges between young people, a concept for which is already being clearly outlined. The same applies to exchanges between scientific and arts figures. However, the young people of our states should be the focus of this. If they manage to build a bridge of mutual respect and interaction, this will show that the policy of mutual understanding of recent times has laid a solid foundation on which to build our joint future."

In a living functioning democracy, which similarly exists in Germany, parliament is given a central role in the political system, R. Suessmuth went on to say, broaching the question of the significance of parliamentary activity and interparliamentary cooperation in our time. And within the European framework the growing significance of parliamentary work is becoming more obvious than ever before. I was recently convinced of this anew during a meeting between leaders of European parliaments in Madrid, where we were successful in forming a CSCE parliamentary assembly.

Our cooperation with the Soviet parliament will depend to a decisive degree on whether we manage to achieve an unprecedented extent of cooperation on the path to trust. As for its concrete aspects, these must be discussed. I believe that the visit of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium gives good occasion for this. We will undoubtedly make use of it in order to constructively get down to questions of improving parliamentary cooperation in the spirit of partnership.

Soviet Sentries at FRG Base Shoot at Intruders

PM2504104391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Apr 91 First Edition p 3

[Correspondents Colonel V. Markushin, Major S. Popov report: "Incident Near Altengrabow"]

[Text] A few days ago the FRG Ministry of Defense made an official statement. It says, specifically, that on 19 April in the region of the inhabited locality of Altengrabow (Saxony-Anhalt Land) a Soviet sentry fired on a car carrying three Bundeswehr servicemen, one of whom was wounded and taken to a hospital. The Ministry of Defense deemed the Soviet serviceman's use of his weapon illegal. But how did all this really happen?

On 19 April at 1100 a motorvehicle with Bundeswehr identification markings stopped not far from a guarded Soviet military installation in the region of Altengrabow. After leaving it Majors Weiss and Schulz crossed a prohibited area, approached a barbed wire entanglement, and started to photograph the installation. They did not react to the sentry's commands ("Halt, get back! Halt, or I will shoot!"), which were given in German. After which the sentry, Private Vyacheslav Delyukin, fired a warning shot in the air. Then, seeing that one of the officers had set off toward the vehicle while the other continued taking photographs, the sentry used his weapon again. As a result Major Weis was wounded in the arm. His colleagues were detained by a group from the guard detail that had arrived. After a preliminary investigation in the presence of the Saxony-Anhalt Land prosecutor and a representative of the Western Group of Forces Military Prosecutor's Office, the transgressors were handed over to the German authorities.

The information from the investigation by the military prosecutor's office and other competent organs of the Western Group of Forces shows that the sentry acted in strict accordance with the requirements of the regulations and had legal grounds for using his weapon. But there are facts in the light of which the FRG Ministry of Defense statement can be seen as an attempt to put a brave face on a sorry business. The point is that on the evening of 9 April four Bundeswehr servicemen in a UAZ-469 vehicle drove up to the same installation and acted out virtually the same scenario, making off after the sentries fired warning shots.

During the German side's explanations concerning this incident a representative of the Western Group of Forces Command indicated the lawfulness of the sentries' actions not only from the viewpoint of regulations but also of the Treaty Between the USSR and FRG on the Conditions for Soviet Troops' Temporary Stay and Planned Withdrawal From German Territory. Specifically, Article 2 Point 8, which says that Soviet troops have the right, within the confines of installations allocated to them and marked in the proper manner, to implement measures to guard them in accordance with the procedure operating in the Soviet Armed Forces. The question of preventing such actions in relation to our troops in the future was also put. The "answer"—in the form of a new incident—arrived after exactly 10 days...

These occurrences in the region of Altengrabow confirm that "interest" in Soviet military installations on FRG territory is growing. Last year, for example, over 20 attempts to get into posts and attacks on sentries were

recorded. As a result of which Private Oleg Kobzar died and six servicemen received firearms wounds. These occurrences compelled the Western Group of Forces Command to take a number of additional measures. Sentries have already been performing duty at their posts in flak jackets and helmets, and additional guards are being posted at night. Bulletproof shields or sandbags have been set up in observation towers. Warning signs have been put up specially to orient the local population near military installations, and guard personnel are compulsorily studying German commands.

Alas, the incidents, as we can see, are not stopping. It is clear that this not only does not help normal relations between Soviet troops and the Bundeswehr and local population, but it also casts a shadow over everything positive that has recently taken shape in this direction.

Latin America & Caribbean

IZVESTIYA Reports Gorbachev-Solana Talks

PM2404141391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 91 Union Edition p 5

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting with F. Solana Morales"]

[Text] On 23 April M.S. Gorbachev received Mexican Foreign Secretary Fernando Solana Morales in the Kremlin.

The historically evolved relations between our countries are splendid, the Mexican secretary declared. But everything is changing, the world is changing, and our relations must also develop. The USSR president fully agreed with that assessment, adding that Mexico and the Soviet Union now need a new dialogue and a new dynamic of relations. The official visit to the USSR by Mexican President C. Salinas de Gortari, scheduled for this July, will be an important step in this direction.

M.S. Gorbachev briefed the guest on the processes developing in the Soviet Union, emphasizing that the policy of profound democratic transformations remains immutable, although the tactic for implementing it must take account of the real and highly complex situation in the country. This is the first time in our history, he said, that such profound changes have developed in a peaceful way. And it is very important to keep the processes within the framework of legality and order.

Pointing out that his country too has lived through periods of serious change, the Mexican foreign secretary said: We know from our own experience that firm, strong central power is definitely needed in order to implement economic reforms and democratic transformations. Otherwise democracy will degenerate into chaos.

The Mexican president and all the country's citizens, the secretary continued, have a profound interest in the success of the perestroyka processes being implemented under M.S. Gorbachev's leadership. We wish you success, not only proceeding from a feeling of liking but also because perestroyka in many ways determines the course of world development.

M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that the Soviet leadership acts proceeding from its own responsibility to the Soviet people and, at the same time, to the whole world. We are all responsible for the destiny of our civilization.

The conversation was attended by Mexican Ambassador C. Tello and, on the Soviet side, by A.A. Bessmertnykh and V.V. Zagladin.

Paper Views Cuba's 'Grave' Economic Problems

PM2404114591 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Apr 91 First Edition p 7

[Article by V. Mironov: "The People Are Still Optimistic; the Grave Economic Situation in Cuba and the Government's Measures"]

[Text] All Cuba is now widely commemorating events of 30 years ago. April 1961, when numerous mercenaries and counterrevolutionaries invaded the island with the aim of overthrowing the people's power, was the Cuban revolution's baptism of fire.

In the years since then, with the help of the Soviet Union and other countries, Cuba has implemented important socioeconomic transformations, at the same time not forgetting the constant threats of its northern neighbor, only a stone's throw away.

And now Cuba is facing perhaps its most difficult economic situation, and, however paradoxical this might seem, this has arisen not so much at the whim of the White House as because of the events which have shaken East Europe and the Soviet Union. Until recently 89 percent of production capacity and consumption volume in Cuba depended on deliveries from these countries, and almost 90 percent of oil and petroleum products came from the Soviet Union. But now, in the words of F. Castro, Cuba is blockaded far more severely than ever. "On the one hand, the tough U.S. embargo remains, and, on the other, the socialist camp no longer exists, and economic links with some East European countries have almost ceased. To this is added the uncertainty over the future of economic relations with the USSR... A cloud of uncertainty hovers over the future of relations with those who have been our firm support for 30 years."

Such a sharp turnabout in the international arena is making Cuba reexamine its economic and social development plans, without infringing the working people's vital interests. Last year a new strategy was adopted within the framework of the "rectification" (the process of correcting mistakes and eliminating negative tendencies) that has been continuing for several years now, and this has been dubbed the "special period in peacetime." Briefly, its essence consists in ensuring that the country

can endure and survive, while at the same time continuing the development of the national economy in the main spheres.

Firm measures are being adopted to economize on fuel and energy resources, which is especially important for Cuba, whose own oil extraction covers only an insignificant part of its needs. The shortfall in deliveries of Soviet oil is being made worse by the energy crisis provoked by the events in the Persian Gulf. Domestic power consumption has already been reduced by 10 percent, and the fuel expenditure norm for state and private motor transport has been reduced.

The transition as of this year to settlements in hard currency at world prices among all the former Warsaw Pact partners is aggravating the situation still more in Cuba, which does not possess the necessary reserves of freely convertible currency.

Of course, Cuba's foes rejoice at all these difficulties. Moreover, poisoned arrows are increasingly often being unleashed against Cuba, including by some of our homegrown democrats and mass media, who proclaim that the socialist system has no prospects in Cuba.

However, only people who do not know the history of this distant country can argue in those terms. Cuba has long been traveling toward its own perception of socialism. In the words of the Cuban leader, socialism did not come to Cuba "on the heels of victorious divisions of the Red Army. We, the Cuban people, forged socialism in Cuba in the course of a truly heroic struggle. For 30 years we have been offering resistance to the mightiest empire in the world, which wanted to put an end to our revolution. This is testimony to our political and moral strength."

The leadership is now soberly evaluating the situation which has emerged, the most difficult in the socialist state's entire existence. The Cuban leaders are putting practical tasks of socioeconomic transformations at the center of their activity. The Cubans have no need of the passions of rallies and strikes, sterile theoretical discussions, or parliamentary blather in search of an "internal enemy." The main thing for them now is to overcome the negative consequences of the preceding period by hard work in industrial enterprises and on agricultural plantations, and thereby improve the well-being of the whole population.

In Cuba people interpret with due understanding what is happening in our country and sincerely want to preserve friendly, multifaceted relations with us. Although on individual questions of principle the Cuban leaders, as befits real friends, openly voice their disagreement or disapproval. "It is repellent that now many people even in the USSR have begun to deny and debunk the historic feats and exceptional services of their own heroic people," Fidel Castro said. "This is not the way to correct or overcome the undoubted mistakes of a revolution born deep inside tsarist authoritarianism, in a huge, backward, and poor country. It is unthinkable now to try to censure Lenin for carrying out the greatest revolution in history in former tsarist Russia."

In a recent interview Juan Escalona, chairman of the Republic of Cuba National Assembly of People's Power (parliament), who was in Moscow at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, noted: "Anti-Cuban sentiments are indeed appearing in the Soviet press. Our ambassador has even written a letter of protest. But the same people are also conducting anti-Soviet propaganda. What we find blasphemous are the arguments of some Soviet philosophers who reject their own history. They condemn the role of Lenin, they argue over which revolution was better. This is difficult to understand."

From time to time calls resound in our country for us to go as far as to curtail economic and trade links with Cuba on the pretext that, so it is claimed, they are not to our benefit. To speak like this is to obliterate everything good and human that has existed and continues to exist between our peoples. After all, we have always supported each other in difficult times.

Yes, a considered approach to our relations is necessary, and it would be shortsighted to throw away all the accumulated experience of mutual activity. How to make this cooperation mutually profitable is another question, and this problem is now being worked on in both Cuba and the Soviet Union. This has already been reflected in trade agreements for 1991 between the two countries. One of the new provisions of these documents is the pledge by Cuba to assume a proportion of all the expenses connected with the transportation of goods by sea. In addition, Cuba's debt to the Soviet Union is to be transferred into freely convertible currency. We will receive sugar (4.4 million tonnes a year), nickel, citrus, and tobacco products, and alcoholic beverages, and also—which is very significant—the latest medicines, modern medical equipment, and biotechnological products. The main items of Soviet export will continue to be fuel, grain, and various industrial equipment and spare parts.

The most important event of the year will be the forthcoming Fourth Cuban Communist Party Congress. The "Appeal to the Congress," which gives a serious analysis of the country's economic situation, its problems, and earlier mistakes, has already been discussed for several months throughout the country. For the first time the traditional pattern has been broken—discussion of this document is taking place with the active participation of all the working people.

In the current year the Cuban Government intends to begin a process of transformations which, so Carlos Aldana, member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat, informed me, will lead to "partial or radical changes" in the economic model, including opportunities for private initiative in spheres in which the state has demonstrated its incompetence. "We must be a party with a firm worker nucleus—but at the same time we must grant freedom of speech, expression, and other rights to all social strata, including believers, who earlier were not admitted (into the party—V. Mironov), which was regarded as a mistaken practice running counter to the desire for national unity."

In conclusion, I would like to express my confidence that both we and the Cubans will overcome all the obstacles and difficulties in our way, and that nothing will cloud our future good relations with a heroic people, the first in the Western hemisphere to issue a challenge to imperialist dominion and to wish to live as they themselves deem necessary.

Supreme Soviet

Debate on Anticrisis Program Viewed

PM2404105791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Apr 91 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Report by legislative observer M. Buzhkevich under the rubric "Week in the Legislature:" "What Is the Way Out of the Crisis?"]

[Text] The main events in the legislature last week took place not in the hall where the chambers' plenary sessions are held but in the committees and commissions. A preliminary, "range-finding" discussion of the draft action program of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers for getting the economy out of crisis began there. Our readers will be familiarized with the contents of this document following its official submission to a session of the legislature.

The country has entered the zone of basic, decisive economic transformations on the way to the market in an incredibly complex situation in the national economy and in the political and social spheres. The production slump has become an inexorable fact of life. Suffice it to say that, according to data of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, produced national income in the first quarter of this year fell 10 percent compared with the same period in 1990. For the first time for many years production fell at group "B" enterprises and in agriculture. The consumer market is disorganized, and the country's finances are in disarray. Its once unified economic space is splitting up into closed, isolated regions.

The scale and depth of the crisis give no hope of the economy's rapid stabilization or the speedy replacement of all the losses that have occurred. In this situation salvation lies in extraordinary, exceptional measures and actions. It is these that the Cabinet of Ministers is submitting to parliament for examination. It regards as the immediate tasks the adoption of special anticrisis measures making it possible to sharply slow down and halt the disintegration of the unified economic space and to ensure the accelerated development of market relations and the maintenance of the country's main life-support systems during the most difficult phase of the transitional period: the supply of food, medicines, housing, and fuel and uninterrupted transport operations. Finally, the large-scale involvement of foreign capital, technology, and experience.

The majority of the deputies with whom I have spoken pointed to the fact that the anticrisis program recognizes the need to accelerate the development of market relations. In this sense, in the opinion of a section of parliamentarians, it can be the basis for elaborating a well-balanced system of specific measures to stabilize the economy and for halting it on the brink of destruction. This is probably the extent of the "positive" in assessing this document. Even on their first and, to a considerable degree, cursory analysis of it legislators noted the burden of pretentiousness, the debatable nature of a number of the proposed measures, and, simply, the erroneous and unacceptable nature of them.

Among the anticrisis measures the Cabinet of Ministers proposes to accelerate the privatization of property and the reduction of state control over it. It is proposed at the first stage to transfer to labor collectives and citizens at least 10 percent of the value of the property of all enterprises and organizations. This pace strikes V. Minayev, secretary of the Committee for Economic Reform, as clearly too slow.

"To ensure that the market starts working," he believes, "it is necessary to create a minimum critical mass of nonstate property. According to the estimates of economists, it must make up at least 35 percent. If we privatize 10 percent a year, we will feel the advantages of the market in four years' time. We do not have this time. We have secured a Supreme Soviet decision on partially free privatization. To transfer, let us say, up to 30 percent of state property for free or for a symbolic payment. The government categorically objects. Well, if ministers do not wish to listen to the opinion of thr legislature, it will have to seek other, more competent ministers."

In the opinion of economist deputies, the anticrisis program will not work unless a tough antimonopoly law is adopted without delay, providing for a firm ceiling on the prices of output from monopolist enterprises. Take the situation in agriculture. You will recall that the purchase prices of agricultural products were raised last year. Collective and state farms and the first lessees and private farmers sighed with relief: They had gotten a strong motivation to work and a glimmer of hope that they would at last be able to earn themselves a comfortable life. But then came a thunderbolt: On 1 January this year there was a sharp rise in the prices of industrial output, power, fuel, etc. And the peasants once again found themselves poverty-stricken: Now tractors, trucks, fertilizers, and construction materials were all beyond their pocket. The adoption of antimonopoly legislation without delay will be an insurmountable barrier to those who make use of their exceptional situation in production. Specialization is so great in our economy that the consumer's fate depends on the producer of not only one type of machinery but also of spare parts. He is forced to pay the monopolist any price if he does not want his own business to grind to a halt.

It is very important, my interlocutors pointed out, to accelerate scientific and technical progress and increase the influence of all sectors of science on the stabilization and improvement of the economy. And here, in their opinion, obvious errors are apparent in the anticrisis program. True, it does contain a thesis on measures to preserve and support the scientific and technical potential during the very difficult transitional period. But there are no specific proposals.

"Unfortunately," S. Ryabchenko, deputy chairman of the Committee for Science and Technology, said, "many people do not regard the introduction of scientific and

technical achievements in the national economy as an urgent task for the immediate period. There is no new mechanism for funding science, particularly sector-based science. It used to be nurtured mainly from the centralized funds of ministries, and the military-industrial complex above all. Applied science and, partly, fundamental science too have now been deprived of this 'replenishment.' And there is no new mechanism to support them. The danger is arising that the established, experienced, well-equipped science-and-production collectives with highly skilled cadres will be destroyed. This entails a breach between science and the economy and an increase in the number of unclaimed new methods and technologies."

Many deputies share the opinion of the pretentiousness of some sections of the Cabinet of Ministers anticrisis program. A. Balenko, member of the Commission for Labor and Social Policy, rightly pointed out:

"The document does not reflect the methods which will be used to fulfill a number of tasks. Rather, it merely expresses intentions. Take, for example, the section which states that the government will give special attention and all possible support to the sector of the economy outside the market: health care, education, culture, etc. But in what way does it plan to do so? Only by using state funds? Or does it intend to support the commercial activity of organizations and establishments in these sectors by creating a specially favored regime for them?"

The government has also devoted attention to the system of social guarantees for the population. Economic and social conditions will be created for able-bodied people so that they can fully reveal their potential and earn by their own labor the means for a life worthy of man. At the same time it is planned to concentrate resources and public funds so as to give material support to incapacitated and socially vulnerable sections of the population. Making a positive assessment of these intentions of the government, one deputy made what was, in my view, a very important remark. It is necessary to be as honest as possible with the people, he said. It is clear to everyone that there will be no improvement in the people's life within a month or even before the end of the year. Given the present situation in the economy, a further deterioration is even possible. It will evidently be necessary to slow down the realization of certain social programs which have already been adopted. It is necessary to warn people of this frankly and in advance, explaining convincingly why this will happen. The people will be freed of illusions and will understand in greater depth that salvation lies in one thing—in universal conscientious labor.

We have chosen the path—toward a market economy. A very difficult path, so it has turned out. Those who have lost their head in political skirmishes, faltered before difficulties, and are trying to turn back today, are dragging the country toward ruin. We long ago passed the point of no return, as airmen say. However, we must be clearly aware that any anticrisis program—the one the government has now submitted to the legislature for examination or another one—can be fulfilled if it becomes a program of popular concord. This is the basic question. One deputy expressed the idea that, until such a program is approved, it is necessary to conclude an agreement among all the country's political forces and movements. Economic stabilization can only be achieved given universal concord and the reduction and elimination of political confrontation and the "war" of laws, sovereignties, budgets, and ambitions. Will we realize at last that, by restoring normal life and working honestly, we are saving the country and, thus, ourselves, our families, and our children and grandchildren? So let us do this!

Supreme Soviet Proceedings 24 Apr Reported

LD2404210291

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian at 1832 GMT on 24 April carries a 49-minute "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Session" program of featuring recorded excerpts of the proceedings of the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin in Moscow on 24 April.

The announcer states that the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet today heard the report of deputies who visited South Ossetia to examine the situation in the republic.

Deputy Nishanov, who is chairing the meeting, announces the decision on the Union treaty which states that republics such as Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldova, Georgia, and Armenia will be able to decide whether or not to sign the treaty. He asserts in the name of both chambers that the responsibility of Union deputies at all levels needs to be increased for the new treaty to work effectively.

Deputy Balenko reports on the deputies' visit to South Ossetia. She says the Georgian leadership warned that the existing South Ossetian leadership lacks real power, so agreement with it would bring little benefit. The deputies' aim was to sort out this conflict, not apportion blame, she states. Originally the intention, she notes, was to disarm the illegal armed units. Later on, she says, the idea of forming a commission of representatives from all the groups was introduced.

The announcer states that after the Balenko report there were questions, and then Nishanov called for discussion of the decree (postanovleniye) on disarming the armed units and forming a commission.

Deputy Aleksidze takes the rostrum. He outlines the history of the conflict's development, and stresses the need for consensus. He says the commission must deal with both sides in the same way, just as both sides in the conflict should be disarmed. He calls upon the commission to find common ground between the two sides in the conflict.

Deputy (?Sukhov) states that the people of South Ossetia want to remain in the USSR, as the referendum has shown. He commends the idea of a commission, but questions whether it should be restricted to members of the USSR, Georgian, and Russian Supreme Soviets. He says that it is important to find a peaceful solution to the conflict.

Deputy (?Zagoyeva) says that there is a war going on in South Ossetia, cites figures for casualties, and describes the situation in the region. She calls upon the people's deputies to acknowledge their responsibility for the fate of South Ossetia and calls for a state of emergency throughout South Ossetia, which can only be enforced by the USSR Interior Ministry forces. The conflict needs to be settled by political means, she concludes.

Deputy Kugultinov says that the president should be called upon to settle this situation. He proposes that the previous resolution passed by the Supreme Soviet should be enforced.

An unidentified deputy urges disarmament and refers to the problem of armed groups outside the territory of South Ossetia.

Deputy Podel states that all republics have legislation against inciting racial hatred. He stresses that the Supreme Soviet should enforce the law to bring order to the area.

Deputy Tarazevich says that the country's leadership is responsible for the fact that the conflict has lasted so long. He stresses that measures have been taken by the president who sent forces to the area. He states that the work of the commission to date should be seen as a first step.

Deputy Advadze asks how Georgia's territorial integrity can be guaranteed if South Ossetia is allowed to leave Georgia and become a part of the USSR. He an. The commission should tackle concrete issues, and ascertain how Georgians and Ossetians can live together. Other nationalities in the area must also be taken into account, Advadze adds.

Nishanov stresses support for Georgian sovereignty, but rejects accusations of interference in the internal affairs of Georgia as Georgia is still a part of the USSR and is therefore under USSR jurisdiction. Discussion of these issues is in accordance with the Constitution, he says. Further, South Ossetian representatives should take part in the work of any commission to resolve the issue. Nishanov stresses that when he visited Tbilisi, South Ossetian Representatives were present at the talks; they could be members of the USSR or Georgian delegations. He emphasizes the need for balanced news coverage of events in the area. The Cabinet of Ministers has already set up a working group and the USSR Supreme Soviet commission could work with them and South Ossetian deputies. All previous resolutions and decrees remain in force, he adds. The Soviet of Nationalities' role is to work with all the groups.

Nishanov puts the decree to a vote. The announcer then concludes the program by saying it was adopted after the amendments were accepted, adding that the commission is to start its work in the next few days.

Further on South Ossetia Discussion

LD2404160491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1400 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Report by legislative correspondent Andrey Nikiforov]

[Excerpts] In the afternoon, the Soviet of Nationalities gathered to discuss a very acute and painful problem—the situation in South Ossetia. [passage omitted]

In this situation, at the instruction of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its leadership, a group of USSR people's deputies, made up of Belyayev, Lubenchenko, and Balenko held consultations from 8 to 10 April outside Tbilisi with the leadership of the Republic of Georgia to settle the conflict in South Ossetia. During the discussion an outline emerged of a possible political settlement to the conflict that has arisen on the territory of the Republic of Georgia in the region of Tskhinvali and adjacent rayons. A stance was coordinated on the need to compile a protocol of intentions which proposes one of the possible options for a political settlement of conflicts. The option is this: An interlegislative commission of deputies is set up on principles of parity, comprising members of the supreme soviets of the USSR, Georgia, and the Russian Federation. The task of the commission will be to work out measures to resolve the situation that has developed in Tskhinvali and adjacent rayons. The commission should also be empowered to supervise the implementation of the measures it has worked out to halt armed attacks, to disarm all illegal formations, and to maintain law and order in the region.

At the same time, a working group will also be formed with representatives from the governments of the USSR, Georgia, and the Russian Federation, which will directly tackle matters for insuring that the population of the region has what it needs for life. Furthermore, the abovementioned interlegislative commission will, evidently, be granted the exclusive right to officially inform the public about the situation in the region. [passage omitted]

Lukyanov Meets RSFSR Rossiya Group Deputies

LD2304195691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1540 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet met today in the Kremlin with Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic people's deputies representing the Rossiya group. The situation in the country and ways for closer interaction between the Rossiya deputies group and the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet in their joint work on draft laws was discussed.

Prosecutor Trubin Addresses Supreme Soviet

PM2404154591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Apr 91 Union Edition pp 1-2

[Report from the Kremlin by Parliamentary Correspondents A. Stepovoy and S. Chugayev: "Will Prosecutor's Office Strengthen Rule of Law in the Country?"]

[Text] On 18 and 19 April participants in the USSR Supreme Soviet's fifth session are working in committees and standing commissions. But the day before separate sittings of the chambers took place. They examined the same questions. The main theme was the discussion of urgent measures to enhance the role of the prosecutor's office in strengthening the rule of law in the country.

Twice in the same day USSR Prosecutor General N. Trubin had to deliver the same report—first to members of the Soviet of the Union, then to members of the Soviet of Nationalities.

He acknowledged that the rule of law in the country is in a state of crisis. The "war of laws" continues unabated, discipline and public order are deteriorating, and disregard for the laws, both Union and republic, is assuming massive proportions. There is no let up in the bloody conflicts in the Transcaucasus. All this, in Trubin's opinion, creates fertile ground for the growth of crime and the flourishing of the shadow economy and is tending to undermine the economic, social, and political reforms being conducted in the country.

In these conditions is it possible for the overall situation in the country to improve? Yes, the USSR prosecutor general believes. But that requires the urgent intervention of the USSR Supreme Soviet. And he named four main areas. First, it is necessary to appeal to republic parliaments to restore the unity of constitutional principles of the organization and activity of the prosecutor's office and make republic legislation accord with the amendments to the country's Constitution made by the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

Second, it must be established that prosecutors in the Union republics and in Moscow are ex officio members of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium. This will make it possible to strengthen collaboration between prosecutors at all levels in supervising the execution of USSR laws.

Third, the prosecutor must be given the right to appeal to the courts if his general supervisory protest is rejected.

Fourth, it is necessary to establish administrative responsibility, to be imposed by the court on the submission of the prosecutor, for nonfulfillment of the prosecutor's lawful requirements.

The USSR prosecutor general also insisted on the improvement of the material condition of prosecutor's office workers. Justifying the need for the adoption of the draft resolution offered to deputies, Trubin stressed that life has now placed the prosecution service at the center of the most acute problems, and that it is one of the USSR Supreme Soviet's real levers in implementing its legal policy.

As legislative practice shows, our legislators always have quite a few questions to put to the country's prosecutor general on the most diverse aspects of social life. The present sittings of the chambers were no exception. We draw Trubin's answers to readers' attention: They are undoubtedly far from personal views.

[Question] It is 3 months since the tragic events in Vilnius. How is the investigation proceeding?

[Trubin] The difficulties which arose from the very beginning of the investigation into the Vilnius events have not been resolved. The Lithuanian Republic Prosecutor's Office, in full conformity with the republic Supreme Soviet's will, wanted to conduct the investigation in conditions of parity with the USSR Prosecutor's Office and with equal authority. We did not agree to that. It is possible to take part in the investigation as active participants or observers. That is what happened in Riga. In Lithuania it did not. But the investigation is proceeding. There are sufficient materials to enable conclusions to be drawn and reports to be made in due course.

[Question] What is the role of the USSR Prosecutor's Office now in the conclusion of the so-called "Uzbek affair" and in the solution of the Gdlyan and Ivanov question?

[Trubin] This question is not closed. I have replaced many of the participants in the investigation of these events and installed others who have no connection with this case. Consequently it will take extra time to study what has already been done and to recheck the existing information.

[Question] Since the well-known presidential decree, the examination at the Prosecutor's Office of cases in the rehabilitation of the victims of the unjust repressions from the twenties to the fifties has slowed down. At the same time the public is demanding that the examination be broadened to include people wrongly convicted in the sixties and seventies. What is the status of these cases now, what is slowing them down?

[Trubin] Much depends on you, the legislators. In his decree the USSR president instructed the Cabinet of Ministers to prepare and submit to the Supreme Soviet proposals on the mechanism of rehabilitation. The decree announced the restoration of the rights of victims of the repressions. The questions of who confirms the fact of rehabilitation and many others have to be settled.

[Question] The criminal case against servicemen of the Internal Affairs Ministry's internal troops involved in the Tbilisi events has been terminated for want of corpus delicti. Why? People died, wasn't someone to blame?

[Trubin] Criminal proceedings were instituted against the organizers of the rallies and other citizens whose actions caused fatalities. The republic prosecutor's office charged them, arrested them, and then terminated the case when the situation in Georgia changed.

[Question] How is the "case of the 140 billion" faring?

[Trubin] It must be said straightaway that the investigation has produced no information on the mercenary interest of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] leaders. But the question arises: If someone in the Russian Federation decided to carry out a deal then why not at state level rather than through front men? Apparently middlemen are paid commission—it runs into billions... There are many questions outstanding. The investigation goes on.

The resolution on urgent measures to enhance the role of the Prosecutor's Office was adopted with amendments by both chambers.

The Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities have ratified two USSR international treaties—on the USSR's affiliation to the 1961 Hague Convention which rescinds the requirement to legalize foreign official documents, and the European agreement on the provision of medical services to people temporarily resident on another country's territory.

The two chambers adopted the text of a USSR Supreme Soviet appeal to people's deputies at all levels in connection with the approaching anniversary of Lenin's birth.

Political & Social

Communist Party Joint Plenum Begins Work 24 Apr

CM2504080391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 91 Second Edition p 1

["Information Report on Joint Plenum of CPSU Central Committee and CPSU Central Control Commission"]

[Text] The joint plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission started work on 24 April 1991. The following issues are submitted to the plenum for examination:

1. On the situation in the country and ways of extricating the economy from the crisis.

2. Organizational issues.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made opening remarks.

Taking part in the work of the plenum are first secretaries of the Central Committees of Union republic Communist Parties and republican, kray, oblast, and okrug party committees; second secretaries of the Central Committees of Communist Parties and chairmen of the control bodies of Union republic Communist Parties; commanders of military districts; heads of military-political directorates; USSR people's deputies from the CPSU; and representatives of communist factions in the Supreme Soviets of Union republics who are not members of central elected bodies of the CPSU.

USSR Prime Minister V.S. Pavlov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, made a report on the first issue.

Speaking in the debate were S.I. Gurenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; P.V. Volkov, deputy secretary of the party committee of the "Ulbinskiy Metallurgy Works" Production Association of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic; A.A. Malofeyev, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; A.M. Anipkin, first secretary of the Volgograd Oblast party committee; and Yu.A. Prokofyev, first secretary of the Moscow city party committee.

The joint plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission will continue its work on 25 April.

Gorbachev Addresses Plenum

CM2504075991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 91 Second Edition pp 1,2

["Opening speech by M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at Joint Plenum of CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission in Moscow on 24 April 1991"]

[Text] I consider it necessary to inform the plenum about my principled assessments of the present political situation in the country and party. We have gathered amid an exceedingly complex situation. The atmosphere in society is heating up. The atmosphere in the party is also being whipped up. This is by no means occurring spontaneously. Tough statements are being made on all sides and far-reaching political demands concerning the destiny of people and state are being presented.

Now the most important thing of all is not to yield to the temptation of emotional decisions. Of course, the moment we are living through does not dispose one to calm academic reflections. Already, not only in words but in deeds, attempts are being made to deflect the country from the path of reforms, either by throwing it into one more ultra-revolutionist escapade which threatens to destroy our statehood, or turning it back into the past, to a slightly touched-up totalitarian regime. I think that one does not need to explain that this refers to the plans of leftist and rightist radicals. Both these directions are ruinous. The fact that they have now converged, despite what would seem to be their irreconcilable mutual enmity, constitutes the greatest danger of the present moment.

Look with what unanimity one and the same slogans are being put forward! For several months now the extremist-minded leaders of the "Democratic Russia" movement, using for their own political aims the discontent—justified to a large degree—of the working people with the difficult economic situation, have been inciting labor collectives to put forward demands for the dissolution of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Soviet, and for the dismissal of the president and the Cabinet of Ministers. Now some party committees in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and in a number of other republics, and also some deputies from the "Soyuz" group, are coming out with the same demands, almost word for word.

But let us soberly imagine what will happen if these demands are implemented. The destruction of the legitimate state structures would inevitably create an explosive power vacuum.

The heterogenous political forces that are today joining ranks in their extremist demands will find themselves face to face with each other.

Without the barrier that constitutional order and the activities of legally elected bodies of authority now interpose between the conflicting social forces, parties, and movements in society, their illusory coalition will be unable to hide for long the ambition of all the sides to attain a monopoly of power over the state and society. This will inevitably bring about a fierce and probably mass struggle. Regardless of who emerges on top, democratic institutions will be replaced yet again by arbitrary rule. To put it in simpler terms, this will be genuine dictatorship, not the imaginary one certain people can perceive in the current constitutional regime. The historic opportunity to modernize the country by means of reform, that is to say, by peaceful means, will be missed. The whole country, the people, and millions and millions of citizens will be the ones to lose out.

I speak of all this with utter frankness. One cannot hold a discussion otherwise now, especially here at our party forum. Stemming from an analysis of the situation there is for every sensible person just one conclusion: IN NO EVENT MUST A DESTRUCTION OF THE EXISTING CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER BE PERMITTED. Any changes, including the most resolute ones in the economy and policy—and there is a really great requirement for them at present—can be achieved only within the framework of constitutional legality. We have for the first time a freely elected Congress of People's Deputies and USSR Supreme Soviet, we have the highest representative bodies of republican power, and we have glasnost. Within this framework, and availing itself of these democratic institutions and Soviet laws, each party and movement is entitled to strive to attain its goals, including of course to struggle for political leadership and power. However, any attempts to act by Pugachev's insurrectionist methods [Pugachev, 1742-75, executed for leading insurrections] and by means of extraparliamentary blackmail right through to transforming the country's economy into dust and ashes must be emphatically rejected.

I see it as a paramount duty to put a stop to violations of the democratic process and, by every lawful means, to resolutely strengthen constitutional order in the country.

It is absolutely obvious that without this, even the most ideal programs for overcoming the economic crisis would remain mere good intentions. Naturally, the restoration and strengthening of constitutional order is a direct responsibility of all the bodies of state power and each official. But this is also a task for the whole society in general, for all truly democratic forces, groups, and organizations.

The situation requires that all political forces and movements that adhere to patriotic positions in deeds, not in words, should cast away ambitions; set aside, at least for a time, mutual recriminations; and help the country to gather strength at a difficult moment. And I must say that this understanding was shown at my meeting with the presidents, chairmen of the supreme soviets, and leaders of the governments of nine union republics that took place yesterday. The statement adopted at the meeting has been published. If the measures that are envisaged in it are consistently implemented—and we should do everything to insure this—this can become the beginning of a breakthrough in the development of the situation.

The discussion was sharp and lasted many hours, but the measures agreed to demonstrate that the situation makes it possible to act in the common interest, in the interests of the people. Fully conscious of the critical nature of the situation in the country, those attending the meeting stressed in their joint declaration that the universal restoration of constitutional order and the rigorous observance of existing laws until the adoption of the new USSR union treaty and the new USSR constitution represent an indispensable condition for stabilizing the situation in society.

I have to say that each point was adopted as a result of serious discussion. At the same time it was unanimously emphasized that the conclusion of the new Union treaty, taking into account the results of the unionwide referendum that has been held, is the primary task for overcoming the crisis.

The joint declaration confirms the obligations of union bodies and republics, enshrined in the economic agreement for 1991, and the need to fulfill them, primarily, with regard to budgets and the formation of extrabudgetary funds. For the purpose of stabilizing the situation in the country's national economy, those attending the meeting advocated the introduction of a special working regime in basic sectors of industry, in enterprises producing consumer goods, and in railway transport.

An issue often put forward in labor collectives and among the public—that of the introduction of a state of emergency in the country—was also discussed. As a result of lengthy discussion, we came to the conclusion that it is expedient to act in the fashion laid down in the joint statement, having regard for the strengthening of the constitutional order and the implementation of the measures necessary for this.

The utmost support for agricultural enterprises and the agro-industrial complex as a whole, to boost foodstuffs and promote their production, was proposed as a task of paramount importance, proceeding, moreover, from the fact that the governments of the union and the republics are supposed to complete as early as this quarter the work now being done to prepare a mechanism for maintaining equal exchange between the countryside and the towns in conditions of transition to the market and to the introduction of new wholesale prices.

On the basis of an analysis of the situation following the change of retail prices for consumer goods, the leaders of the republics recognized the necessity of implementing a number of measures to make certain amendments to pricing policy.

It is emphasized in the joint statement that in the current crucial period the interests of the people, as well as practical work to lead the country out of crisis and to continue the democratic changes in society, should be put above everything else. Those participating in the meeting stated that attempts to reach political goals by means of inciting civil disobedience and strikes and calling for the overthrow of the existing legally elected bodies of state power are unacceptable.

I believe that this is a fundamentally businesslike and constructive statement, which has been dictated by the current situation, and is an acknowledgement of the responsibility which we all bear. It will play its role in stabilizing the political and economic situation in the country, and in uniting efforts to overcome the difficulties in which society has started to come apart [razvivalos], and will also play its role in implementing measures to get the country out of its state of crisis as soon as possible.

The necessary political atmosphere is being created to further carry out reforms which are geared toward the transition to the market accompanied by strong social protection, the formation of a law-governed state, and the transformation of our Union in accordance with the results of the expression of the people's will. There is a basis for hoping that this will be greeted with satisfaction by the overwhelming majority of our society, which is tired of the "war of laws" and harassed by endless confrontation, and wants nothing so much as to see the everyday life of the country back in its normal routine.

I want to hope that both the Central Committee plenum and the whole party will support the anticrisis efforts of the cabinet. This is a fundamental issue of enormous significance both for getting out of the crisis, and, to no less a degree, FOR THE FATE OF THE PARTY ITSELF.

This is especially stressed because some of our comrades, including within the Central Committee, have already forgotten about the decisions of the 28th Party Congress and would like to foist upon us a different political line, although they do not openly speak of this. It is as if they want to foist upon us again the discussion which took place at that time, although all the relevant documents and the program statement were adopted.

Let us speak frankly, comrades. It would be simply unworthy to give the impression that the leadership does not notice the sentiments which are dominant in a number of party organizations. And we simply do not have the right to brush aside the resolutions of party committees demanding the resignation of the general secretary or even of all the members of the Politburo. Since the question is being asked, it must be answered.

In a number of statements the present party and state leadership and I are accused of nothing more nor less than pursuing an anti- popular policy. And these provocative assertions are being disseminated not only in inferior publications, but also in some press organs of Communist Parties. I do not have the opportunity now to develop an argument to show the full groundlessness and irresponsibility of such statements, but I cannot fail to recall the main point, albeit in brief.

First of all, no one can deny that as a result of long-standing domination by a totalitarian regime, our country was threatened with the danger of finding itself on the sidelines of historical progress—and not just in the technological sense, but also in the social sphere, where in recent years we were literally careening toward collapse.

Totalitarianism was strangling the people's creative forces. It was necessary to cast off these chains, and perestroyka has done this. The mere fact that for the first time in many decades the country has regained its freedom and freed itself from all-pervasive fear and constraint, and the people have been given the opportunity to take part in deciding its fate—this was also confirmed by the nationwide referendum, the first in the country's history—speaks of the historical necessity of perestroyka.

Yes, reforms are being implemented with difficulty. Yes, we have made a lot of mistakes and have not managed to foresee everything. Yes, the most acute political struggle has flared up. But all this is not reason to panic. It is grounds for consolidation and decisive actions on the basis of objective and truthful analysis of the situation in all its complexity. I quite clearly distinguish two tendencies in the flow of the resolutions, decisions, appeals and letters coming to the Central Committee now. Both of them are sharply critical. But one of them represents a sincere striving to improve, adjust, strengthen, and continue the business started by perestroyka. The other—an

effort to discredit the entire policy of perestroyka, to declare it a total failure and impasse and, thus, in essence, to bring to an end the course toward a profoundly reformed society. That is the question, as a matter of fact.

Of course, many people in the party are confused now, certain people fall into despair, and some party leaders even into hysterics. This situation resembles the social and psychological atmosphere that arose within the party during the period when V.I. Lenin abruptly turned the party and the country toward the New Economic Policy. Then, as you remember, quite a few Bolsheviks left the party in protest. There are not only psychological but also profound socioeconomic and political grounds for drawing parallels between the present day and the Lenin times of the abrupt turn toward the New Economic Policy. At the time, as those who know the history of the party well remember, Lenin was accused of reneging on the cause of October and the interests of workers and peasants and of deviation from the principles of socialism. These are the mildest expressions that I am quoting here.

Unfortunately, Leninist ideas about a new point of view of socialism and a new approach to it were not implemented at the time. Political intrigues around the ailing Lenin and attempts at removing him, under plausible pretexts, from leading party and state construction took the upper hand. In the end the Stalinist dictatorship with all the well-known consequences asserted itself in the party and the country.

In the name of the country's present and future, we are all the more obliged to remember how and under the influence of what forces the New Economic Policy was curtailed and national policy was deformed, how the living soul of Leninist teaching was killed amid loud oaths of loyalty to Leninism and to its protection against deviations of various kinds. The price of political amnesia has turned out to be too high. To pay it once again today would mean inevitably bringing our society to bankruptcy. So let us all together try to prevent emotions from pushing our plenum away from positions of political common sense.

I recall all this because the turn that we have all approached now is not at all easier than in the 1920's.

It is appropriate to repeat the Leninist appeal now—of course, in a renewed form, at a new sharp turn. The communists must learn to build a law-governed state and the market. Incidentally, please recall how Lenin appealed to people to learn to conduct trade; to promote enterprise and at the same time, defend the rights of working people; to strive for de-statization and demonopolization while transferring property in any form to labor collectives; and to favor the sovereignty of republics and local self-administration while resolutely defending our Union state's integrity.

Complex? Difficult? Dangerous! Yes! It may even be said, unbelievably complex. To act under conditions of democracy, of glasnost, of there being many parties, is a thousand times more difficult than to govern the country by tough methods. But there is no other way.

I return to those accusations currently being addressed to the leadership and above all to me as general secretary of the Central Committee. With increasing frequency, one hears demands for the convocation of an extraordinary congress to decide an organizational matter, so to speak. We have discussed many times how expedient in the present circumstances is the combination of the posts of leader of the party and of the state. I have not altered my position on this score. Least of all am I clinging to the leader's chair out of any kind of personal motives. I am not the issue. Whoever were to find himself here, today, such a combination is simply vitally necessary.

In all responsibility I say: Those who, one way or another reject the reforms and, in essence, take up retrograde positions are threatened with a final break from the masses, whose trust for the party, as a result of many circumstances, has been weakened. This would be the best gift for the "left-wingers" and the right extremists and would actually untie their hands. Incidentally, here too there is a surprising meeting of the extremes: The pseudo-democrats are demanding the trial of the CPSU and its prohibition while some party activists are seeking enemies and traitors within the party leadership.

I am convinced that the majority of members of the CPSU, living and working among the masses of the people, are aware of the dangers of yet another epidemic of sectarianism that, alas, it must be admitted, has seized a section of party cadres. Serious and sober-minded people will not allow the party to be dislodged from the path of reforms. Its chance of regeneration as a vanguard political force lies in assisting in every way the renewal of our society on its chosen path. If this line prevails, the people will once again support the party, and it will fear no political opponent. I am prepared to go along with this democratic, popular current right up to the end.

A brief word about the party's program and the adoption of an accelerated pace on which many people are insisting. In my view, this draft, work on which is in progress, could be examined at an all-Union party conference, envisaged by the CPSU rules, I believe, for the end of this year, maybe even earlier. Incidentally at the conference it could also be possible to decide certain urgent organizational questions connected, for example, with changes in the party rules, and if necessary, personnel questions, too.

I believe and know that in the party there are quite a lot of healthy forces that, even in the current extremely grave conditions, have not lost their capacity for purposeful and effective work. They exist in a whole series of oblasts in the RSFSR, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Azerbaijan. The communist parties of Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics are working confidently and actively. I say this not for the sake of compliments and

complacency, but for the sake of truth and a fair assessment of people and whole organizations that are not panicking but going about their business, I would say, manfully and in a party-minded way.

But one cannot avoid speaking here and now about the main weakness in the work of the whole party—from top to bottom. We are lagging behind the pace of life in work both with the broad party aktivs and with the main groups of the whole population. As a result, in conditions of total social crisis, the ruling party, which originated as the political vanguard of the working class, has gained an opponent in the form of part of the working-class movement. One can only help it to embark on the channel of constructive actions and become an active participant in economic and political reforms by speaking to it in the language of truth. Protestations of faithfulness to the interests of the working class will not come to the rescue. We are obliged to pay out in full on the advance payments made to the workers and to resolutely carry out what was promised. Needless to say, one cannot fail to see that various political intriguers are penetrating the ranks of the working-class movement from the side. And some leaders of the working-class movement are doing it more harm than good. We communists are also obliged to speak about that to the workers, bluntly and openly, proceeding from the interests of the working-class movement itself. And the last thing. For communists, actively operating in the working-class movement means working sincerely, tactfully, in a committed way, and patiently with its leaders, supporting them in all constructive undertakings.

The way out of the current incredibly difficult situation lies through the intensive political and organizational work of party organizations and committees in the spirit of party comradeship.

These are the thoughts and proposals with which I should like to anticipate the work of the current plenum of our party's Central Committee.

Participants Question Gorbachev Position

LD2404201191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1902 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] The combined plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the CPSU started work today in Moscow. There is only one question on the agenda—the situation in the country. Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made the opening speech. Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov expounded the anticrisis program of the Cabinet of Ministers.

In an interval between sittings, USSR Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh told journalists that Mikhail Gorbachev had set out his view on his removal from the post of party general secretary and as head of state. Gorbachev thinks that the separation of these posts would not be timely owing to the difficult situation in the country.

As became known from a conversation between a correspondent of the RUSSIAN NEWS AGENCY and several delegations, a number of those attending the plenum made an attempt to insert into the agenda, the question of the report of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee "on the position in the party" and also of the combining of the posts of head of state and of the CPSU. These proposals were not supported. But according to one member of the party's Central Committee who is in the "Soyuz" association—(?it is better) not to name him—a number of those attending the plenum intend to raise the question once again during the sitting on 25 April.

Participants View Proceedings

LD2404220991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Report by correspondent S. Medvedev—from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Medvedev] The host of journalists who gathered today at the Kremlin's Spasskiy Gates were expecting a sensation. This is understandable because this [CPSU Central Committee] plenum, convened during a crisis in the Communist Party and the country, had evoked a large number of forecasts from journalists and politicians on its eve. The main forecast was that the supporters of a firm and uncompromising line in the Central Committee would go on the attack and that the question on the resignation of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary would be raised.

Today's sitting, which ended two hours ago, began with polemics over the agenda, during which voices were heard speaking in fairly demanding terms on the need for an accountability report by the general secretary. The majority of these demands, however, were not supported. Members of the Central Committee shared the view that the main thing at present is to give a response to the key question of how to extricate the country from its crisis. [Video cuts to interview with A.A. Akayev, president of Kyrgyzstan]

[Akayev] At the present time indeed, when the country is in such a profound political and economic crisis, there is a need for coordinated actions—coordinated actions by the republics and by all sociopolitical forces, because otherwise no programs or measures will make it possible to extricate the country from a real crisis. We witnessed a historic moment when accord and reconciliation were achieved between two of our country's political leaders, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, and I think that this indeed makes it possible that the program presented to the Supreme Soviet and today to the plenum of the Central Committee by Comrade Pavlov, the country's prime minister, will indeed receive support.

[Medvedev] Are you satisfied with the way the plenum has been going?

[Akayev] The main debate will continue tomorrow, but I am completely satisfied to date with the way it has begun.

[Medvedev] Will there be a party conference in the near future, of which there was talk today, or not?

[Akayev] I think not. I see no need in the near future to convene a party conference. [Video cuts to interview with A.V. Buzgalin, member of the coordinating council of the Marxist Platform in the CPSU and of the Democratic Movement of Communists]

[Medvedev] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, it is said that the debate on the agenda immediately determines the balance of forces. Was it that way today?

[Buzgalin] You know, you are right to a great extent. There was indeed a clash between different forces. Some have been saying that Gorbachev has made too little use of the powers given him as president to bring about order, while others have been saying: No, it is nevertheless necessary to develop market relations, enterprise and so on, and Gorbachev is insufficiently decisive in that sphere. The latest statements by Gorbachev and Yeltsin, it would seem, have removed all doubts. But I personally consider that the main problem is not how to make a firm hand compatible with money and a firm hand compatible with entrepreneurs. It seems to me that we should seek a way out in a third and different direction that accords with the interests of work collectives, consumers and so on. We are told that there is no need for a roundtable of political parties. I agree. Many of them are indeed simply attempting to dole out the seats afresh, but what if a roundtable is arranged of independent trade unions, strike committees and work collectives?

[Medvedev] There was a proposal that the plenum hear an accountability report from Gorbachev. Are you in favor?

[Buzgalin] You know, I am in favor, but I would repeat that I am not worried about Gorbachev as a person. Until we decide which leader is better—Gorbachev or Yeltsin—nothing will come of it. Until at the grassroots communists and non-party people, above all non-party people in conjunction with communists, start to draw themselves up by the scruff of their necks, if you will excuse me, out of this morass, then neither Yeltsin nor Gorbachev nor any other leader will be able to help us.

[Medvedev] The plenum will continue its work tomorrow.

Resignation Call Reveals 'Fear' of Reform

LD2304200291 Moscow TASS in English 1939 GMT 23 Apr 91

[By TASS political observer Sergey Kolesnikov]

[Text] Moscow April 23 TASS—Demands that the Soviet president and the Soviet Communist Party general secretary resign, that the Soviet parliament and the Congress of People's Deputies be disbanded, have ceased to be something unprecedented.

It seems that such calls have become a form of political self-expression for some people. Various reasons lie behind such demands, but practically none of those easily pronouncing the word "resignation" has clear understanding of what should follow such a move.

Today, it is no secret for anybody that supporters of extreme political views meet on the basis of this fashionable demand. Political demands by strikers prove this. Growing from economic disorder and social tension, their demands are a peculiar symbiosis of conservative and reformist feelings.

Demanding that the president resign, strike leaders bring about accusations against him similar to those by "hardliners." On the other hand, they also use arguments proposed by representatives from the other side of the political spectrum.

Although it may seem a paradox, but I believe that "conservatives" and those, who consider themselves democrats, have been united in their fear of the economic reform. I mean not the reform as a whole, but real perestroika processes with all their difficulties, inevitably worsening living standards and declining production.

I can understand those who are going to deal with the crisis with the help of "a state of emergency", or those who favour decentralisation. A search for ways out of the difficult situation in the country is necessary, but I believe that a search for right decisions sometimes turns into a pursuit of popularity, even at the cost of rejecting common sense, both economic and political.

We cannot but rejoice that Soviet Communist Party organisations are no longer expressing their "unanimous approval" to any government decisions, but on the contrary, they criticise the cabinet's policy.

At the same time, it is hardly moral to base one's tactics on rejecting reforms and demanding that the president, a communist, resign, like some party committees do.

Ardour suitable for rallies and neo-Bolshevist phrases by some radicals from the democratic camp seem equally rash. Calls for the president's resignation from this side can hardly help overcome the crisis, like demands to the general secretary by their political opponents.

In fact, radicalism, no matter what colours it bears, persistently demands sacrifice. The political centre is always falling victim to extremist politics. Our "left" and "right" radicals are united in rejecting the possibility of a political centre in politics.

One side curses "pseudo-centrism" for "giving scope to anti-Communist forces." The other "renames" the president's centrist position, saying that it is "rightist" and "dictatorial."

What is the way out of the situation with constant "resignation" demands? I believe that the forces of reason and common sense should unite, and there is nothing new in my opinion. Unification should take place between political forces and inside political forces.

Lately, good signs have appeared of the possibility of such a unity. Many of those, who were recently involved in fruitless monologue-like debates and struggled for "annihilating" political opponents, have "grown wiser."

Many people have understood that only together could we move out of crisis. This is a good sign.

Ligachev Interviewed on Anticrisis Program

LD2404212691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1920 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Interview with Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, former member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, by Sergey Medvedev at the joint plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission in Moscow on 24 April; from the "Television News Service" program—recorded]

[Text] [Medvedev] Yegor Kuzmich, what is your attitude to the anticrisis program proposed by the government?

[Ligachev] On the whole, I think it is positive. I am most concerned, however, not so much by the program itself, as the mechanisms for implementing it.

[Medvedev] They haven't been thought through?

[Ligachev] I think that without the party—and this is my profound conviction—and the mobilization of all its huge potential in uniting our whole state system in the form of the soviets, from top to bottom, nothing will happen.

[Medvedev] There were demands to listen to a report from the general secretary. Can this be considered as the preamble to steps to remove him from this position?

[Ligachev] No, I think not. Not at all.

CPSU Sociopolitical Panel Eyes Political Issues

PM2504104991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Apr 91 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Ahead of CPSU Central Committee Plenum; From Sitting of CPSU Central Committee Standing Sociopolitical Commission"]

[Text] As already announced, there will be a CPSU Central Committee plenum 24 April to examine questions relating to the situation in the country and the party. It is also intended that this plenum will discuss the question of Communists' work within the soviets of people's deputies.

The CPSU Central Committee Standing Sociopolitical Commission focused its attention on these tasks.

Opening the sitting, V.A. Kuptsov, commission chairman and CPSU Central Committee secretary, noted that thorough work is under way with the participation of Central Committee members and the party aktiv on the draft documents of the Central Committee plenum. A commission sitting at the end of January examined the concept for the report on communists' work in the soviets, and Central Committee members on the Sociopolitical Commission have continued discussing this question in their party organizations. This made it possible for the sitting to add to the draft materials for the upcoming Central Committee plenum plenty of new ideas and observations, along with concrete proposals based on—and this is the main thing—the real-life, rapidly changing situation.

The following took part in the discussion: Yu.I. Litvintsev, chairman of Tula Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies; O.Ye. Kutafin, rector of the Moscow Law Institute; A.S. Kamay, second secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; A.A. Prigarin, leader of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee Center for Political Analysis; writer R.A. Medvedev; N.A. Moiseyev, chief of the Ground Forces Military-Political Directorate; S.I. Goryushkin, secretary of Moscow's A.I. Mikoyan Machine-Building Plant party committee, and others.

It was emphasized in the course of the debate that for the CPSU—as the ruling party—the soviets constitute one of the most important areas in which to apply its efforts. More attention must be paid to implementing party policy and adopted decisions.

A working group of members of the Central Committee standing commission was set up to continue working on the materials for the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum with an eye to this discussion.

Opinions were also exchanged on trends in the development of public organizations and movements. Approaches to the formation of a centrist bloc were analyzed. Particular attention was paid to blocs of parties and movements in opposition to the CPSU, because it is they who are playing the most active role in creating in the country a complex political situation characterized by extreme tension and fraught with the danger of a social explosion.

The commission sitting noted that the concept of centrism is becoming topical in a situation of intensified struggle between various political forces and the galvanization of both "right-wing" and "left-wing" extremism. It should be seen not as a means of reciprocal concessions but as a means of coordinating actions based

on the interests of the whole people. Centrist policy today could be built around the anticrisis program. The speakers did not agree on everything. However, everyone shared the opinion that this is a serious problem that merits attention from all society and the entire party. This question requires thorough theoretical and practical study, which is why a special group of commission members and scientists has been set up.

Against the backdrop of the socioeconomic and political crisis the formation of a multiparty system in our country is a painful and difficult process which is accompanied by tremendous problems. The absence of the practice of legal regulation of political activity within a multiparty system is having an impact. It was noted that CPSU organizations and Communists should strive to ensure that all political parties and public movements operate strictly within the framework of our existing laws, in particular the recently adopted USSR Law "On Public Associations."

TASS Reviews Central Press for 25 Apr

LD2504065891 Moscow TASS in English 0652 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—Today's newspapers report the beginning on Wednesday of a joint plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee and Central Control Commission.

The following issues were put on the agenda: the situation in the country and ways to pull the economy out of the crisis, as well as organisational issues.

The plenum opened with introductory remarks by party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

A report on the first issue was delivered by Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov, who is a party Central Committee member.

The meeting will continue today.

PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carry the full text of Gorbachev's introductory remarks.

"I see my primary duty in stopping violations of the democratic process and using every lawful measure to boost the constitutional order in the country," Gorbachev said.

Gorbachev told the plenum about principled assessments of the current political situation in the country and the party and noted that it was convened "in an extremely complex situation".

The destruction of legitimate state structures would inevitably create an explosive vacuum of power, the general secretary pointed out. Diverse political forces that are joining together today on the basis of extremist pretensions will find themselves facing each other.

"Their illusionary coalition will no longer conceal the desire of each side to dominate over the state and society. A violent, most likely massive fight will inevitably ensue. No matter who wins the upper hand, democratic institutions will be replaced by just another arbitrary rule".

After that Gorbachev stated bluntly that "the existing constitutional order shall never be allowed to be dismantled".

He said in the current situation all political forces and movements, which in deed rather than in words hold patriotic positions, have to cast away ambitions, set aside mutual pretensions at least for some time, and help the country to muster its strength at a crucial moment.

Awareness of this, Gorbachev continued, was displayed at Tuesday's meeting with the presidents, chairmen of supreme soviets and heads of government of nine Union republics. Gorbachev believes that if all measures, provided for in a statement on the results of the meeting, are consistently fulfilled, it will mark the beginning of a turning point in the situation.

Gorbachev urged all participants in the plenum not to allow their emotions to push the plenum from "the positions of political common sense".

Informing about the work of the Soviet parliament, newspapers write that on Wednesday the parliament's Council of Nationalities passed a resolution on the situation in South Ossetia, considered as an attempt to search for a political solution to the crisis.

To this end, the council decided to form a tripartite inter-parliamentary commission, including deputies and representatives from executive bodies of the Soviet Union, Russia and Georgia.

Newspapers report that the Russian parliament on Wednesday passed the law on presidential election.

The decision was taken at a Third Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies of the republic. It is based on the results of the March referendum, when the majority of Russian citizens voted for executive presidency in the republic.

Parliamentarians also adopted the law on the president of Russia. The document points out that the president "is the chief executive of the Russian Federation, the highest official". The law stipulates that he cannot be a people's deputy and has to suspend membership of any political party during presidency.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries the text of the Russian parliament presidium resolution on measures to ensure holding elections of president of Russia on June 12, 1991.

The TRUD newspaper comments on the joint statement by the Soviet president and leaders of nine republics,

passed on Tuesday. The newspaper notes that the statement "opens the road towards overcoming the crisis".

PRAVDA writes that on Wednesday President Gorbachev had a half-an-hour telephone talk with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl as part of their regular contacts.

During the friendly discussion, Kohl asked about the Soviet Cabinet's latest anti-crisis programme and was briefed on its substance, objectives and significance in tackling the more pressing tasks and advancing to a market economy.

Gorbachev expressed gratitude for Germany's effective solidarity with the Soviet Union at this difficult moment in its history. Commenting on Tuesday's meeting between leaders of nine Soviet republics and the joint document adopted there, he spoke highly of its fundamental significance in stabilising the economic and political situation.

Gorbachev and Kohl exchanged opinions about relief aid to Kurdish refugees. Gorbachev expressed support for measures that are being taken, viewing them as purely humanitarian.

The two leaders agreed to continue their discussion of these and other issues shortly.

PRAVDA reports that Chinese Communist Party leader Jiang Zemin will hold an official visit to the Soviet Union between May 15-19 at the invitation of President Mikhail Gorbachev, who is also Soviet Communist Party leader.

PRAVDA carries impressions of its correspondents' visit to China. They share their opinion of China's problems, peculiarities in its economic development and political processes.

PRAVDA publishes reports by its correspondents in Tokyo, Washington and Brussels on reaction in Japan, the United States and Western Europe to the Soviet-Japanese summit. The newspaper notes that the Soviet president's visit was a historic event in bilateral relations and an impetus for rapprochement between the two states playing an important role in the international community.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA gives its version of the Soviet-Japanese summit.

Gorbachev, Republic Leaders View Crisis

LD2404163491 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Network in Russian 1530 GMT 24 Apr 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The joint statement on urgent measures to stabilize the situation in the country and to overcome the crisis is published in the press today. What is noteworthy is not only the title of this extremely important document but also the names of those who signed it. These are the USSR president and the top leaders of nine Union republics who at their meeting on 23 April discussed the situation in the country—Gorbachev, Yeltsin, Fokin, Kebich, Karimov, Nazarbayev, Mutalibov, Akayev, Makkhamov, and Niyazov.

The participants in the meeting first of all considered it necessary to state that an essential condition for the stabilization of the situation is the adoption of decisive measures to restore constitutional order everywhere. The primary task for overcoming the crisis is to conclude a new treaty among sovereign states. Therefore, it is essential in the very near future to complete work on the draft of the new Union treaty so that the harmonized document can be signed by delegations of Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan. It is proposed that most-favored status will be established for the republics that sign this treaty within the framework of the united economic entity formed by them.

We can all see the baneful effect on our economy of the destruction of longstanding economic links between enterprises, regions, and republics. In the present conditions, the participants of the meeting consider that the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the governments of the Union republics should bear particular responsibility for the strengthening and development of such links. Also envisaged is the introduction of a special regime of work in the basic industries, at enterprises producing consumer goods, and for rail transport.

The participants in the meeting consider it to be a primary task to provide the population with food products. The difficult position in which millions of Soviet people found themselves after the recent reform of retail prices has not been left without attention. Therefore, a number of measures will be taken in order to provide social protection for citizens. It is proposed to remove the five percent sales tax of everyday goods, to compensate in some way for the increase in prices in student and school canteens, and to revise rail and air fares downward. Within one month a decision will be made on the indexation of incomes.

It is impossible to get out of the acute crisis in conditions of incitement to civil disobedience and strikes and to overthrow legally elected bodies of state power. The leaders of the Union republics consider this intolerable. At the same time they call on miners and all working people to cease strikes for economic and political motives and to make up for what has been lost in the very near future.

Gorbachev's New Aide Ozherelyev Interviewed

PM2504092591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Apr 91 p 2

[Interview with Oleg Ozherelyev, Gorbachev's new economic adviser, by S. Bobrovskiy; date and place not

given; first paragraph is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction: "Who Is Currently Feeding Ideas to the President? There Is a New Economic Adviser in Gorbachev's 'Team'—Oleg Ozherelyev"]

[Text] The President's new economic adviser, who has replaced Academicians Shatalin and Petrakov, is the youngest member of Gorbachev's team. He is 49, although he looks 40 at the very most. He graduated from Leningrad University. He defended his doctorate thesis early. Since 1977 he has been working in the party—to begin with at the Leningrad Party Gorkom [city committee], then, after a 3-year Leningrad University deanship, in the CPSU Central Committee Science Department. He is endowed with a prepossessing, if not striking appearance, of average height, with a ready smile, and unhurried movements and speech. It is incomprehensible how he manages to keep the huge piles of papers on his desk in perfect order. Judging by appearances, he plans his schedule to perfection. During the hour and a half which our interview took not one of his eight or nine telephones interrupted our conversation...

[Bobrovskiy] Oleg Ivanovich, it is possible to judge the president's current position by the advisers he choses. Is this not so?

[Ozherelyev] Yes, of course. Although it is true that currently the opinion prevails that M.S. Gorbachev and his team are veering toward the right, and that even the arrival of new advisers allegedly testifies to a certain departure from the former course. This is completely wrong.

[Bobrovskiy] Your latest articles published in the journal VOPROSY EKONOMIKY were written in coauthorship with other scientists. Does this mean that you have a special aptitude and skill for working in a collective?

[Ozherelyev] Generally speaking, before my arrival in Moscow, I worked exclusively on my own; that applies to all my publications during the Leningrad period. But frankly speaking, finding a common language with a coauthor has never been a great psychological problem for me. You are right, in some way I even find it interesting to work in a collective. There is a lively debate, everyone has their strong points, and taken together this often produces quite good results. And in state and party institutions it is very important that your personal ambitions do not exceed a certain level.

[Bobrovskiy] Do you often have occasion nowadays to work in coauthorship with the president?

[Ozherelyev] I would not put it like that! That is a bit extreme—in coauthorship with the president! You have to bear in mind that Mikhail Sergeyevich is a leader on whom it is difficult to foist ideas. Frequently it is he who puts forward an idea, and he then expects his advisers to scrutinize it. He has a colossal capacity to absorb what is most interesting, progressive, and advanced in the literature he reads.

[Bobrovskiy] What economic materials does the president read?

[Ozherelyev] Naturally, he scans the monograph literature, he does not read everything, just what is most interesting. And articles in journals. Most often he probably reads materials on current developments which are not narrowly specialized but are written vividly.

[Bobrovskiy] Oleg Ivanovich, in 1985, for example, you wrote in an article published in a journal: "The measures that are being adopted by the party will make it possible to double the rate at which equipment is taken out of service... ensuring the timely replacement of worn out and obsolete machinery." What are your present views on the correlation between ideology and the economy?

[Ozherelyev] You have to bear in mind that in 1985 the party was still the nucleus of the whole system. So that the passage you have quoted is not discussing ideology but is a statement of an actual fact.

However, talking about the correlation between the economy and ideology it must, of course, be admitted that many research studies were to some extent under the spell of ideological precepts. Although, frankly speaking, I personally have always followed Marx' formula: "Question everything!" A scientist has to view the world critically. It is quite a different matter though from what positions he does this. Often I find it painful when "sores are exposed" in the press with a kind of malicious glee: Look what it has come to.

[Bobrovskiy] How do you assess the current situation in the economy? Or more specifically, what is you attitude to the latest steps undertaken by the government?

[Ozherelyev] The situation is critical. This year is the most difficult one. Nonetheless, in Goethe's words "He who is alive should not say that all is lost." The problem with the former government, in my opinion, was that all kind of economic reforms were proclaimed but the determination to see them through was lacking. Pavlov is a different character, he has a lot of push, he wants to overturn everything, as the saying goes. A government anti-crisis program has been drawn up. It is not being presented as the ultimate truth. It has now been sent to republics, to scientific collectives, to the scientific and industrial union to obtain comments. This is an example of how consensus can be achieved.

As for the measures which have already been taken, I believe that this is the minimum without which further transformations are impossible. However, among the people such measures are unpopular. Pavlov's mission is the most thankless task, it is the dirtiest of jobs.

[Bobrovskiy] But after all, there are different ways even to do dirty work... As long ago as the summer of last year, after N.I. Ryzhkov's well-known speech, many economists and politicians were arguing convincingly that it is impossible to embark on the price reform without having

first reformed the social security system, adopted anti-monopoly measures, drawn up a law on indexation, and carried out a wage reform...

[Ozherelyev] Without any doubt, the economy is a living integral organism. You cannot change one thing without changing something else. Naturally, the reform does not just envisage an improvement in price formation. The anticrisis program proposes accelerated changes in the property system—this includes privatization, demonopolization, and the development of the leasing system. Specific measures are planned to improve the standing of the ruble, to stabilize and strengthen it and gradually to make it convertible. Structural changes in favor of consumer goods and foodstuffs are planned. However, we had to begin with the prices, there was no other alternative, it was impossible to tolerate any longer the humiliating waiting lines, speculation, and empty store shelves...

[Bobrovskiy] Of late the coalition theme, talk of a coalition government, is cropping up with increasing frequency in circles close to the president. Does this mean that the days of the present Cabinet are numbered? As a matter of fact, the former minister of finance, who is personally responsible for the disintegration of the financial system which he is now, as premier, forced to cure by radical, painful, and in your own words, unpopular measures, can hardly count on national trust and a social consensus.

[Ozherelyev] First, to say that the former minister of finance bears full responsibility for the state of the finances is not quite fair. He bears a share of the responsibility, of course. However, it must be borne in mind that Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, the head of the former government, was a man with a strong character who firmly steered his course.

[Bobrovskiy] Was he referred to as a "whining bolshevik" for no reason then?

[Ozherelyev] To put it mildly, no serious document was published without him. Therefore the freedom of the minister of finance was greatly restricted.

Now to the unpopular measures. The former government brought the country into the situation which made measures of this type necessary. And then it got cold feet. We are now having to clear up the mess.

And, finally, about the government of consensus. It is beyond question that consensus is simply essential at the moment. But a consensus within the framework of the existing Constitution. We have a Supreme Soviet and all social forces are able to propose the candidacy of individual ministers through this body. I regard it as undemocratic when parties and movements gather for a "roundtable" and share out portfolios in a coalition government. Such decisions should be put forward through parliamentary parties.

[Bobrovskiy] Are specific measures to stimulate production envisaged?

[Ozherelyev] The anticrisis program proceeds from the directive to provide possible advantages to all spheres of the agro-industrial complex and consumer goods production.

In any case the task now is to take real steps along the road of broad reforms.

Shape of Mooted 'Political Center' Viewed

PM2504094191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Apr 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report by A. Volkov, doctor of historical sciences, A. Galkin, doctor of historical sciences, and Yu. Krasin, doctor of philosophical sciences, from the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Contemporary Social Problems: "Is the Center in the Center?—We Must Rise Above Extremes and Secure Civil Accord"]

[Text] The idea of a political center expounded by M.S Gorbachev has right away embarked on a rather strange life. For example, it has been supported by figures from the Russian Communist Party, including, moreover, people occupying fairly distinctive positions—people on the left as well as those regarded not just as conservative but reactionary. Some have been shocked by this. Representatives of other very diverse social and political forces have also started talking about the center. There are pluses and minuses in this: The breadth of the centrist movement is a condition of its success, but there is a danger that the very concept of "center" will end up burdened with a multitude of meanings and that the idea will be open to a variety of interpretations, which will render them totally impracticable.

An expert assessment of this idea was carried out in our institute, which undertook a "mental assault" on the problem, if you like. We will attempt to summarize the analysis participants' considerations regarding the essence of a possible program and the organizational shape of the political center.

The experts noted that in the existing situation the political center cannot be formed on the basis of any one political tendency or ideological platform, no matter how influential. Efforts to predicate its formation on a number of philosophical principles, particularly the adoption of "the socialist choice," attack the very idea at the root, as from the outset a significant sector of political and social forces which do not accept these terms is alienated from the center.

Along with this, the political center is not the "golden mean" between extremes and its policy is not the eclectic sum of ideas borrowed from both "the right" and "the left." The center is above extremes in the sense that it presents society with a policy whose content is independent and which is capable of leading society out of the crisis.

An indicative example from history is NEP [New Economic Policy]. At that time, advocates of "war communism" stood at one extreme and counterrevolutionaries at the other. NEP in no way reconciled these extremes, but it settled basic social problems and inconsistencies and by the same token reduced the severity of the conflict in so far as it stopped the masses from being drawn into it. In the final analysis, this policy was in keeping with the interests of social development. Of course, it is not in the disposition of forces that we are seeking an analogy here, but in the principle of the center's function.

Nowadays, given the inevitable heterogeneity of centrist forces, there are difficulties in elaborating an integrated and precise unified program. It is more fitting to talk about a common program space. Its main unifying aim is to overcome the crisis in society and maybe in the first place the inferiority complex which has arisen as a result of a whole series of misfortunes, the universal criticism of our past, and uncertainty about the future, and also to overcome the feeling of defeat and the no-win syndrome, which is particularly painfully apparent against a backdrop of success for Western countries, especially the United States of America.

The basis of the common program space could be made up of two main requirements. First, stabilization and national revival, including a renewed understanding of statehood and the state itself as a kind of historically formed social unit [sotsium] bonding the whole of our society together. Second, a profound democratic reform of society, the main directions of which are quite clearly discernible: Movement toward a market, a mature civil society, a rule-of-law state, and a consensus political culture.

The political center, in the opinion of practically all our meeting's participants, can be formed only through rallying around clearly outlined "rules of the game," political pluralism, and ideological tolerance. Each force making up the center maintains its ideological outlook but at the same time stays within the bounds of the common political platform.

From this flows the need to elaborate a kind of "code of democratic procedure," and it could become the answer to the broad population masses' desire to escape the difficulties, disorder, and confrontations which are piercing the whole of society, and their longing for order. At the same time, this code could ensure the minimum of rights and freedoms for the individual, thereby creating the framework for constructive dialogue in conditions of diversity.

Without a democratic method of restoring order on the road to forming a political center, the way will be open for establishing a dictatorship in one form or another in the country. To think that a society which is torn by conflict and in a state of profound economic crisis could transfer to Western models of democracy at one fell swoop is a massive illusion. American political scientist Walter Mead notes: "We should not wait around with sinking heart for some kind of Soviet equivalent to George Washington or Thomas Jefferson. We should be thinking more in terms of Al Capone."

But we do not consider dictatorship inevitable as there are grounds to believe in a democratic method for overcoming difficulties.

The political center can pit civil accord against destructive confrontation plunging society into a state of collapse. What is needed in a type of "civil contract" which would be the embodiment of democracy in an emergency crisis situation and of social forces' assent to emergency measures which have become inevitable and constructive actions to implement these measures.

So which social forces can the political center rely on? Signs are increasing that the majority of society, the mass strata, are being convinced by their own experience that hostile confrontation between rival forces is fruitless and jeopardizes the country's future, and they are objectively inclining toward the side of accord and order. Many still do not fully realize this, but are spontaneously striving toward it. Therefore, a clearly defined platform of the political center which takes due account of this tendency could attract the sympathies of the majority.

The question of the political forces forming the center is no less important. Any party or political grouping with constructive aims could participate in the program space of the political center. Democratic conservative tendencies in the CPSU as well as moderate supporters of radical and liberal forces could be included. The political center could become a magnet, a zone for the free interaction even of rival political forces on the basis of accepting the most relevant common development trends of our society. There will inevitably be an element of competition in this cooperation but without claims by any one party to hegemony. The point of cooperation is to overcome sharp confrontation and secure consensus on positions of common sense.

A number of experts are of the opinion that it is hard to imagine forming a solid political center without including such influential forces as the workers movement in it, and likewise without constructively cooperating with such powerful structures as the Army, security organs, and state sector management. They could play a stabilizing role in a state which is being broken up by centrifugal tendencies if they begin to operate within the context of a "democratic procedure code." If we fail to find methods for flexibly integrating these powerful structures into the democratic environment of the political center then the danger of corporate authoritarianism emerging will become very real, and this is capable of severing indefinitely (or retarding) society's democratic reformation.

Particular mention was made at our meeting of the CPSU's place in the formation of the political center. The party's fate and influence, in the opinion of many, depends on whether or not it will be able to become a

vital link in this process. This demands a more positive rejection of sectarian-dogmatic positions, which are a heavy burden on the CPSU and hinder its revival. In this sphere brave steps —of not a compromise but a determined character—are required in the program, in interparty relations, in style and form of work, in cadre policy, and in all party activity.

The formation of the political center demands the definition of organizational structures and terrific organizational work. As of yet this does not exist, and the idea of a center remains a good intention. It is "not operational." Eminent public figures representing various ideological-political tendencies could act as initiators of the movement for civil accord. Each one could participate in it, while remaining at the same time a member of any political party. It is important to achieve support for the idea of a center from state leaders at both Union and republic level.

At the top of the movement, a social assembly for civil accord could be set up to bring together its most active participants. The assembly would exert influence over the activities of Union and republic organs of power through its moral authority.

Intellectual forces involved in the sphere of social thinking are capable of assisting the creation of the civil accord movement. For example, a permanently operational seminar to discuss the problems of political centrism, raise new and sensitive questions, and critically analyze real political practice, stimulating the concentration of social forces around the idea of revival and democratic consensus, could be set up. Our institute is currently making efforts to create such a seminar.

The new movement needs its own media organ—a truly independent newspaper with the provisional name GRAZHDANSKOYE SOGLASIYE [Civil Accord]. While independently and critically evaluating the activities of all parties, social organizations, and state organs, the newspaper would devote its activity to achieving civil accord in society. Therefore, it must be noted for the objectivity of its information, its balanced outlook, and the calmly weighed nature of its opinions. The newspaper could indeed become the collective organizer of the supporters of political centrism, whose potential in conditions of polarization remain unexplored as yet.

A more complex question is the organizational structure of the civil accord movement at grass-roots level. It may be worth setting up public consultative assemblies under the local soviets. Participants in our expert analysis consider it necessary to think about political clubs, discussion forums, and other types of independent social institutions. The CPSU could assist the organizational shaping of the civil accord movement's grass-roots components, offering them the chance to use political instruction buildings and other organizations in the localities.

All this provides food for thought. However, there is no time for lengthy consideration. Given the depth of the split in society, it is important to act energetically and purposefully.

USSR Journalists' Union Holds Congress

LD2304230891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Report by correspondent Chernyshova; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Chernysova] The first congress of the USSR Union of Journalists on the Confederative Basis opened today in the conference hall of the NOVOSTI news agency. This is the first congress: Well, it depends on the way you count. If you count from the day of the establishment of the USSR Union of Journalists—of which the new confederation claims to be the legal successor—then it will be the eighth. It is true that the organization itself, as well as the composition of its members, have changed. First, the Baltic republics and Georgia are not members of the USSR Union of Journalists on the Confederative Basis, although their representatives were present as observers. However, the Unions of Journalists of Tatariya and Bashkiriya, Moscow and Leningrad have signed the documents of the confederation. It is notable that there are up to 20 members in each of the delegations. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic has 35, considering the autonomies. But each has only one vote. Eduard Sagalayev, chairman of the confederation, stressed that today the press is in a critical situation due to the increase in the price of paper and the monopolistic dictate of the Soyuzpechat. There is a feeling of the purposeful pressure being put on glasnost. The delegates were offered the Charter of the Confederation, the Code of the Journalist's Profesisonal Ethics, as well as the program of the legal policy, which recognizes the Committee for the Defense of Free Speech and the Rights of Journalists as the chief structural body. [Video shows Chernyshova interviewing Eduard Sagalayev, chairman of the USSR Union of Journalists on the Confederative Basis]

Well, who do you actually intend to defend—the journalists, or the freedom of speech?

[Sagalayev] I think it is difficult to separate these two terms, although they do not, of course, fully coincide. This committee will, first of all, be called to defend the Law on the Press, and the right of our people for information through the efforts of the journalists themselves—the public figures and the people's deputies who will become its members. This should also include resorting to the courts, because today the criminal, civil, and legal procedure codes contain the appropriate articles.

[Chernyshova] Eduard Mikhailovich, in your address, and in the documents presented to the congress, you

have repeatedly stressed that the subject of the confederation is independent from the center. Are there any common obligations for the members of confederation?

[Sagalayev] Obviously. There is the Confederation Agreement, which was signed by all its members; there is the Charter, which is now being studied by the congress. It is very important. I wish to draw your attention to the fact that for the first time we will be adopting the Code of Journalist's Ethics. We are talking not only about the obligations of the confederation's subjects toward our professional creative union; we are talking about the obligations of each given journalist to observe our laws and the professional ethics, to observe in general the civilized norms of human relations.

[Chernyshova] The congress continues its work tomorrow.

Congress Concludes

LD2404223191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1820 GMT 24 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Novozhilov]

[Text] Moscow, 24 April (TASS)—The congress of a creative organization has come to a close today in Moscow, with the adoption of the rules of the USSR Union of Journalists on a confederative basis and a number of program documents. In its rules, the union defines itself as an independent, non-governmental organization independent of political parties.

The document emphasizes that the union's main aims are the development of journalism in their native land and the defense of the rights and interests of those working in the media. The journalistic organization of the Soviet Union, whose formation agreement was signed by representatives of the 15 regional journalists' unions in the country, is to exist on the basis of the confederation principle.

For the first time in over 30 years in the history of the existence of USSR unions of journalists in the country, a code of professional ethics of journalists was adopted at the congress. It notes that the basic principles of the activities of workers in the media should be truthfulness, objectivity, and respect for honor and the reputation of the individual.

The leading bodies of the USSR Union of Journalists on a confederative basis were elected at the congress. Eduard Sagalayev remains in the post of chairman; in the past he was the main editor of the "Vremya" program on USSR Central Television.

The journalists have adopted a resolution "On the Defense of the Rights, Honor, and Reputation of Journalists," which contains an appeal to the country's law enforcement bodies to guarantee strict observation of the law on the press and the USSR media. The document emphasizes that instances of force being used against journalists and of prosecuting them have recently become more frequent.

Representatives of Abkhazia, Georgia, and the Baltic repubics, and unions of workers in the media who did not sign the agreement on the formation of the USSR Union of Journalists were present at the congress as observers. Eduard Sagalayev told a TASS correspondent that in the near future he intends to meet representatives of these organizations and discuss the possibility of them entering the union.

Newspaper Publishers Association Set Up

LD2204134591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1551 GMT 18 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Roman Grigoryev]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Apr (TASS)—The Association of Newspaper Publishers has been set up in the USSR. A constituent congress of this new public organisation ended in Moscow today. According to its charter, the main purpose of the association is to protect the legitimate interests of newspaper publishers in conditions of market relations.

Last August the Law on the Press came into force in the USSR. In accordance with it all the publications in the country must be registered. The law entered public life against the background of an explosion of newspapers and magazines: hundreds of new periodicals have appeared, thereby aggravating the shortage of newsprint. It was noted at the congress that the unyielding positions of paper producers have brought many newspapers to the brink of bankruptcy. The association intends to help those newspapers which have financial problems and to set up a labor exchange for publishers and a data bank.

The new public organization has 353 newspapers among its members; experts believe, however, that their number will increase considerably already this year.

Aleksandr Gorkovlyuk, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Press, which is now being reorganised into the USSR Ministry of Information and the Press, was elected president of the association.

Objectives Explained

PM2504095391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Apr 91 Union Edition p 7

[Interview with Aleksandr Gorkovlyuk, chairman of the Newspaper Association constituent congress organizational committee, by Vl. Arsenyev; date not given: "Newspaper Association Convenes Congress"]

[Text] The constituent congress of the Newspaper Association will be held in Moscow 17-18 April.

At the USSR Ministry of Information and the Press we asked Aleksandr Gorkovlyuk, chairman of the constituent congress organizational committee, to tell us in some detail about the aims and tasks of the new organization.

The association's scope of activities will be relatively wide. However, the main spheres of its work will be partnership participation in the setting of prices for paper, printing services, and distribution, Aleksandr Semenovich said. This has been prompted by life itself. Too many problems connected with the publication of newspapers have accumulated. It is difficult for individual newspapers to resolve them single-handedly. It is quite logical therefore that newspaper publishers want to unite. In my opinion, this will enable them to feel more confident in market conditions.

[Arsenyev] Is it possible to say right now how many representatives of publications the association will unite?

[Gorkovlyuk] We have received applications from some 500 newspaper publishers from all parts of the country who wish to take part in the congress. For example, from the "Periodika Dona" Rostov newspaper and periodical association which comprises 53 newspapers. There are applications from citizens who have founded their own publications. We are also expecting journalists to take part in the constituent congress.

[Arsenyev] Will representatives of the major unionwide newspapers be among the participants?

[Gorkovlyuk] A number of them are studying the documents supplied by our organizational committee. We have already received suggestions and proposals. Especially after the publication of the association's draft statutes in KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE [Book Review]. They are also familiar with the draft of the articles of association. I fully understand their interest. The situation in publishing at the moment is such, unfortunately, that even a solid circulation is no guarantee against bankruptcy for individual newspapers. On the other hand, in all developed countries associations of this kind have existed for a long time and their usefulness is obvious.

I would like to stress that membership is open to newspaper founders, publishers, and representatives of editorial boards, irrespective of the status or type of the newspaper or which political parties or social movements it represents.

[Arsenyev] Will the association be able to give real material support to newspaper publishers if they find themselves on the brink of bankruptcy?

[Gorkovlyuk] This will most certainly be discussed at the congress. We hope that in time we will be able to put together a sufficiently solid fund which will enable us to grant material assistance. I hope that we will succeed in realizing also another idea—the establishment of a publishers' employment office and a data bank.

[Arsenyev] Perhaps after this interview new newspaper publishers who are as yet unknown to you will try to find you? Could you give your details?

[Gorkovlyuk] But of course. Let me reiterate, membership in the association is open to all who are professionally engaged in newspaper publishing. Our telephone number is: 921-60-88.

Politburo's Luchinskiy Meets Editors

91UN1316A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 17 Apr 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "A Meeting at the Editorial Office"]

[Text] Yesterday, P.K. Luchinskiy, member of the Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretary, met with the collective of the newspaper SELSKAYA ZHIZN. Current issues of the party press and its more vigorous participation in complex processes currently under way in our country were discussed in the course of a frank conversation which lasted two hours.

Naturally, the issues of contemporary rural areas, multisectoral economics of the agro-industrial complex, and social development of the countryside were emphasized in particular.

Economic

73 Mines on Strike in Donbass Region

LD2404120791 Kiev International Service in English 0000 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] Miners' strikes are under way in the Donbass and the Lviv-Volyn coalfields. As of this evening [23 April] the number of enterprises which have fully or partially stopped work make up 73.

The strikers are demanding the immediate fulfillment of two of the packages of political demands. This includes the resignation of the USSR president, Mikhail Gorbachev, and dissolution of the present composition of the country's parliament. So far these demands enjoy the support on the part of the local authorities. Thus, the mayor of Donetsk upholds the local strike committee and calls to hold a 30-minute warning strike at all enterprises of the city, the biggest in the Donbass.

Strike Situation in Kuzbass Worsens

LD2504100291 Moscow TASS in English 0942 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Grigoriy Shalakin]

[Text] Kemerovo, Western Siberia, April 25 TASS—Forty five out of 76 pits and three faces are idle in

Kuzbass, according to information supplied by strike committees. Customers have not received 4,200,000 tonnes of Kuznetsk coal since the beginning of April.

According to figures from the Kemerovo Regional Executive Committee, work collectives at 43 mines took part in the strike on Wednesday, the newspaper TRUD reports. At five of them, basic operations were only partially carried out. The move by the Anzherskiy Loading-Transport Agency to join the stoppage has worsened the situation with the shipment of coal even more over the last 24 hours.

The next few days will show how events develop. Each day of the stoppage is wrecking the social programmes for the cities where miners themselves live. Strike-bound pits are becoming increasingly unfit for mining.

Meanwhile, strike committees show no signs of compromise. They stubbornly insist on their totally political demands, resorting to all kinds of pressure not only on miners. In a newspaper interview, chairman of the Novokuznetsk City Strike Committee R. Vakhitov plainly said: "We propose to metallurgists to support our political demands and make a decision to work at half capacity. We would guarantee them a 50 per cent coal quota." Metallurgists rejected the proposal.

A group of irreconcilable deputies, who are members of strike committees, blocked the adoption by the session of the Leninsk- Kuznetsk City Council of decisions on the most acute socio-economic problems of the city. They voted down the decisions because the rest of the deputies did not support their political demands in an unqualified manner, TRUD writes.

Reasons for Urals Workers' Strike Described

PM2404143191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

[Report by special correspondents A. Golovenko and S. Ryabov: "Urals Demands"]

[Text] Sverdlovsk Oblast—It seems that even the patient Urals miners, blast furnace operators, and steel workers could stand no more. On 18 April there were two-hour political warning strikes at many enterprises employing people of these occupations.

"I want to stress right away," F. Selyanin, chairman of the metallurgical industry workers trade union oblast committee explained, "that the strike did not have the slightest effect on the productivity rate, did not increase production equipment downtime, and did not reduce the volume of output, because it was carried out either between shifts or at dinner time. The main task is to support the Kuzbass miners' political demands."

"You must appreciate," N. Yeremin, general director of the Kachkanar ore-dressing combine, for example, said during a conversation, "that the strike by our miners is not dictated by any extremist motives. It was due to force of circumstances. The thing is that the combine—once the pride and joy of the Central Urals—is going through a very bad period. Because of a lack of coal supplies four blast furnaces and four open-hearth furnaces have stopped at the main consumer—the Nizhniy Tagil Metallurgical Combine. That being so, we are having to stockpile. We are shutting down very important production facilities and people are unhappy. We will manage to muddle through April somehow, but if we do not sell anything in May I can definitely say that many thousands of workers will be left without pay. I do not need to explain what that implies.

"That is why we, like many other Urals miners and metallurgists, believe that the leadership of the country and of Russia and the striking miners must sit down at the negotiating table as soon as possible, find a common language, and halt the destruction of metallurgical enterprises.

Trade Unions Chief on Miners, Steelworkers

914F0195B Moscow TRUD in Russian 19 Apr 91 p 1

[Report on interview with V. Shcherbakov, General Confederation of Trade Unions chairman, by TRUD correspondent I. Ostrovskiy, on 17 April in Dnepropetrovsk, under the rubric "An Interview to the Point:" "To Prevent a Catastrophe"]

[Text] Dnepropetrovsk—As we mentioned before, VKP [General Confederation of Trade Unions] Chairman V. Shcherbakov went to visit the steelworkers and miners of the Ukraine. Two hours after the plane landed at the Dnepropetrovsk airport, Vladimir Pavlovich was at the Krivorozhskiy coal tar chemical plant. After that he visited the agglomerate, the blast-furnace, and the Martin furnace sections of the Krivorozhstal metallurgical combine. Next morning the VKP chairman went down to the mine faces of the Kirov mine management. V. Shcherbakov talked to workers, administrators, and trade union activists. On 17 April, over 500 people gathered in the Kirov mine management Palace of Culture. There were representatives of trade unions and of workers collectives who came to the meeting with the VKP chairman from Krivoy Rog and from the industrial cities of Dnepropetrovsk, Donetsk, Lugansk, Zaporozhye, and Kharkov Oblasts.

The participants approved the decisions of the VKP Council second plenum and adopted a resolution. They provided a guarantee of their aid and support to the Confederation leaders in all of their actions directed at protecting the interests of the working people. The resolution contains the demands of the Ukrainian steelworkers and miners. Among other things they require that constructive measures be taken immediately to stop the coal miners' strike; they want their wages doubled, they demand that steelworkers and miners be made eligible for the same privileges and benefits in wages and retirement and leave payments that are given to coal miners.

V.P. Shcherbakov answered some questions by the TRUD correspondent.

[Ostrovskiy] What are your impressions from your meetings with the Ukrainian steelworkers and miners?

[Shcherbakov] I am simply ashamed that our country cannot get out of its economic crisis when it has such a powerful industrial potential, such highly qualified workers, and such well-trained, professional administrators. I was happy to see how optimistic the workers felt, I was happy to see their state-like approach to the problems that we discussed. This is what the people were telling us: Give us a sufficient load of work and make it possible for us to earn as much as we need for normal life. I do not think that the steelworkers' and miners' demands for wage increases and extra retirement and other benefits are excessive. They are rather modest and they fail to even approximate the tension and the severity of their work.

[Ostrovskiy] When Prime Minister V. Pavlov spoke at the VKP Council plenum he stated that he was ready to double the workers' salaries but only in exchange for their doubling the production output. Can this requirement be applied to the plants that you visited?

[Shcherbakov] Of course, it cannot. We have to be grateful to the people who are working on such worn out machines at such a high level of hard labor, and they are still producing the commodities needed by our country. They are prepared to work more and to work better if the government ensures normal production conditions, strengthens the production links, and prepares conditions for a technological reequipment.

[Ostrovskiy] Lately, antiworker and antitrade union feelings have intensified at the higher power levels. The USSR Supreme Soviet has declared a moratorium on strikes. A decision against strikes has been also adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine. What do you think about these acts?

[Shcherbakov] I am not an advocate of strikes or of any other violent method. I am sure that every issue can be resolved in a constitutional way through a search for an agreement. But I am categorically against any attempts to restrict the rights of trade unions or of the working people. Workers' collectives have an unalienable, constitutional right to strike. The VKP will definitely express its opinion on the decisions of the Union and the republic parliaments. I think that trade unions should use the May Day holiday to consolidate the workers' movement, to demonstrate our unity and our unswerving intention to attain our goals. These mean primarily adequate pay for one's work and full compensation for the losses that the working people incurred as a result of the retail price reform.

I am convinced that a new wave of leaders is coming to our trade union committees now. They are well-qualified people, they can find a common language with both workers and administrators, they have their own positions of principle. Their support for the decisions of the VKP Council second plenum has assured us that we can succeed in transforming trade unions into a real representative of the workers' interests, into an intermediary between a worker selling his skills and the owner of an enterprise, be it government-owned or private.

[Ostrovskiy] The Central Committee leaders of the industry trade union are hoping that you will help them to organize a meeting between the industry representatives and the prime minister and the president of our country. Do you think that such a meeting is possible?

[Shcherbakov] Steelworkers and miners have a sufficient number of issues that deserve to be discussed with the highest echelons of power. I will do my best to make such a meeting possible and to see that it brings some results. I am convinced that we all need to do our best to stabilize ferrous metallurgy. We cannot allow any unpredictable turn of events in this basic industry. It could bring a collapse of the entire national economy.

[Ostrovskiy] Among others, you were asked the following question: Why does the VKP provide no support for the demands of many workers collectives for the resignation of the president and of the government, and for the dissolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet?

[Shcherbakov] Trade unions have their own targets. We reject any attempt to use the trade union movement in the battle of political ambitions. We are negotiating with the government and we are trying to achieve a successful resolution of vitally important issues for our working people. But if the government fails to make good on its promises or delays their fulfillment then we will call upon the workers of our country to fight and put people at the head of the government who would be responsible for their words and actions.

Trade Unions Chief Appeals to Pavlov

914F0195A Moscow TRUD in Russian 19 Apr 91 p 1

[Letter from V.P. Shcherbakov, USSR General Confederation of Trade Unions chairman, to V.S. Pavlov, USSR prime minister; date not given]

[Text] Dear Valentin Sergeyevich,

It is no longer a secret for anyone that the situation in our country is critical and it may be fraught with the most serious consequences. We are witnessing growing shortages in the supplies of food and consumer goods to our population; the prices are rising, the real income of our working people is dropping; the number of families existing below poverty level is growing. Our people are losing any hope that their life is going to improve; their feelings of depression and doom are intensifying. The last actions of our government have only worsened the situation instead of relieving it. We are standing on the verge of serious disturbances.

At the same time it is becoming more and more clear that the government, in spite of its numerous assurances, does not intend to cooperate constructively in its search for a solution with the trade unions who represent the working people. Because of that I am compelled to address this letter to you and to make it public.

On 10 April you were present at a USSR VKP [General Confederation of Trade Unions] Council Plenum. The plenum discussed some crucial issues: an increase of minimum compensation in connection with the retail price reform, a wage increase, a repeal of the sales tax and the one percent retirement fund tax levied on the working people, an increase in social insurance funds, and resolution of socioeconomic problems in the basic industries of our economy.

The plenum proposed quite a concrete step—to complete, within a three-day period, an agreement between the USSR VKP and the USSR Cabinet of Ministers which would outline ways to resolve the above mentioned and other, most pressing problems. The corresponding commission was requested to start negotiations with the government. I would like to remind you that the trade unions sent a draft of the agreement to the Cabinet of Ministers as early as in January.

Having voiced its support for the concept of an agreement, the government, however, chose a strategy of delays and it kept coming up with reasons for them all the time. The last such reason was a wish to involve other public organizations in the discussion even though they never asked for it. In other words, the Cabinet of Ministers is trying to undermine the agreement and to worsen its own relations with the working people and the trade unions representing them. In doing so the government undertakes responsibility for any possible serious consequences.

The time has come to understand, however, that a hundred million working people, united in the USSR General Confederation of Trade Unions, no longer want to be just extras on the stage where the destiny of their country is being played out and that means their our destiny. I want to state with full responsibility that if the government continues to evade a constructive dialog with the trade unions, we will have to appeal to the working people and the workers' collectives of our country for their support. We reserve the right to organize a fight, employing every legitimate method, and try to have our demands satisfied.

I expect an immediate response from the government to all the questions posed in this letter.

[Signed] Sincerely,

V.P. Shcherbakov, USSR VKP chairman

'Contradictions' Hamper Wage Agreement Talks

PM2404151791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

[V. Romanyuk report: "Paying Earnings in Full"]

[Text] A meeting between representatives of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, the All-Union Confederation of Trade Unions, and the Science and Industry Union was held 17 April; it examined a concept for a general wage agreement for 1992 and ways of achieving agreement on this important question.

Jumping ahead, let it be said: Things did not get as far as a concept; the discussion got bogged down in procedural questions and the contradictions in the relations between the real forces operating in society, which remain insuperable.

In the civilized world, USSR Deputy Prime Minister V. Shcherbakov recalled, such agreements are signed by employers with trade unions, and the government plays the role of arbiter. The situation is different in our country: The government is the controlling authority, and 90 percent of property is in the hands of the state. That means that the Cabinet of Ministers signs the agreement as a representative of the owner—the state—along with the trade unions, whose interests are represented by the All-Union Confederation of Trade Unions. Entrepreneurs' unions—lessees, cooperative workers, and joint and private enterprises—can act as a third force; their interests are represented by the Science and Industry Union.

But what plenipotentiary powers do the participants in the talks have? For example, the Science and Industry Union represents above all the interests of state enterprises; nonstate structures are declaring that they want to have their own representatives at the talks. Moreover, the Science and Industry Union is not yet endowed with the powers that would make it a responsible participant in the talks. The Peasants' Union is becoming an influential force and it also intends to be an equal partner in the dialogue. Further, it has become clear that there are many discrepancies between the positions of the All-Union Confederation of Trade Unions and the independent trade unions, which have not yet managed to hold their founding congress but are already becoming a real political force.

However, the general wage agreement concept, whose general outlines were touched on V. Shcherbakov, did not itself provoke any serious objections. The essence of the government's proposal is to convert all expenditure on the reproduction of the work force into pay. The novelty of the approach is as follows: At the moment the state levies money from working people in a variety of ways in order to fund long-term programs for raising the population's living standard. Whether these funds are used effectively or not, the money is taken away and spent. Now, however, the question is being raised of leaving more money in the hands of the working person,

so that he can solve his problems—at least, the most urgent ones—himself. This means that people should have the opportunity of earning the money to pay for good medical services, the purchase of an apartment, the education of their children, and so forth.

But since we are talking about raising the cost of manpower, increasing income derived from all types of activity, and raising the role of this income in a family's level of well-being, the priorities have to be determined: Who should be paid what? At their meeting with the government, the miners declared unequivocally: The coal industry should have the highest wages, and let the other sectors arrange themselves in descending order, so to speak. But oil workers and fishermen have already declared their own right to primacy. Metallurgical workers agree to occupy second place in the hierarchy, but this is claimed by the railroadmen. Machine builders agree to take third place, but the claims of a number of other sectors push them several steps further down the ladder.

So what to do about pay? A. Yakovlev, deputy chairman of the All-Union Confederation of Trade Unions, suggested getting away from speculative schemes and taking a "consumer basket" of average sufficiency as a guideline. Seeing that prices on basic food products have not doubled or trebled, but trebled or quadrupled, the cost of the "consumer basket" has reached 320 rubles [R]. And as for priorities, well, throughout the world priority is given to those categories of workers who expend the most energy in the labor process. Of course, all this must be accompanied by a structural perestroyka of the economy, by the extensive conversion of production—at the moment only one-tenth of industrial capacity works to supply the needs of the population. If we pump more money into the market than goods and services, we will get nothing but a decline in its value and inflation.

A cause of concern in the debate was the calls to preserve ministerial structures on a long-term basis and not to allow the elimination of elements of administrative control. Moreover, these calls came not from the Cabinet of Ministers, but from nongovernmental structures. V. Kolmogorov, one of the leaders of the Science and Industry Union, on the whole expressed the opinion that the removal of property from state control would entail great difficulties, and the privatization of enterprises would drag on for a decade or more.

And what about the wage agreement for 1991? It transpires that the conciliation commission, which is composed of representatives of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the All-Union Confederation of Trade Unions, has not met even once, with the result that the question came up for discussion without having been discussed, and without preliminary analysis. Regarding this, the leader of one of the sector trade unions made the following scathing remark: The government has gotten into the habit of turning its back on the trade unions, of giving them the brush-off. This time the trade unions insisted that the Cabinet of Ministers get down to discussing the wage agreement immediately.

Of course, it is important to enter 1992 with maximum consensus. But agreement must also be reached about relations in the current year, 1991, including between individual sectors and their trade unions, and also at an intersector level. Accord on the creation of working groups has been reached on the part of the government, the trade unions, and entrepreneurs' unions. But the very business of forming these groups is problematic. V. Shcherbakov came out clearly in favor of keeping to a minimum the number of participants in the talks on a wage agreement, and the idea that had been floated of a roundtable was left to one side. Therefore, once again there will be no broad dialogue of all the political forces in society.

Shcherbakov Discusses Cabinet Agreement

LD2304222991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1915 GMT 22 Apr 91

[Statement by Vladimir Pavlovich Shcherbakov, chairman of the General Confederation of USSR Trade Unions, at a news conference in Moscow on 22 April—recorded]

[Text] An extremely acute situation has arisen in the country. In many regions and strata of society the index of social tension has risen to an extremely high point. Mass strikes are taking place and thousands of people have come out onto the squares. What is pushing people into doing this?

First and foremost, it is a protest against sharp impoverishment that has resulted from the raising of prices by a factor of many times. The cost of the most popular items and services has risen three to fourfold. The governments of the country and of the republics essentially are not monitoring the activities of the local bodies of power regarding setting the new prices. Hence, the arbitrary treatment of prices has run riot in public catering and municipal ordinary services. Mention must be made separately of the 5 percent tax on sales, which rapidly became a tax on purchases as far as the population was concerned. It angers people when they go to buy butter, milk and meat and pay considerably more, plus the 5 percent. To this has been added the increase in transportation fees. Prices for municipal and ordinary services have jumped sharply. The minimum living wage has risen from 130 to 320 rubles. If you take our average pay, if you add to it the minimum compensation of 60 rubles which already exists and deduct the taxes, the result is that our average pay is lower than the minimum living wage. In the present situation, the people have been deceived.

The second factor is the breakdown and the anarchy in production. Workshops, sections and factories are being brought to a halt. In the light industry alone, hundreds of enterprises are now standing idle because of a shortage of raw materials. In the very near future, literally in the

very near future, this threatens hundreds of thousands if not millions of workers in this industry with unemployment. A very severe situation has developed in the basic industries.

And the third thing: the recession in production in the final analysis means fewer goods, less medicine, less power, less food. Last year, considerable areas were not sown with crops. The load now is increased. But, at the same time, a considerable quantity of spare parts and agricultural equipment has not been supplied. We do have a shortage of food. This shortage could lead in this kind of situation to results that are considerably worse and to consequences that are considerably worse. There could turn out to be nothing with which to feed the country. This is not simply a question of a crisis. It is not simply a question of stagnation, not simply decline or crisis. It effectively means disaster for our country.

The shortage of food and the excessive prices for them are going to put pensioners, the less well off, students and families with many children on the brink of famine. Many people are now worried by the question of who is responsible. Why is it all happening? There's no war. There's no drought, no crop failure. There's no epidemic, no disaster. People are capable of working and want to do so. There are rich resources and powerful industry. But, we are talking seriously about famine. People are going onto the streets to defend themselves and the person of labor, bringing production to a halt. Production is effectively the breadwinner for every individual.

In our view, there are several reasons for this. The first one, and the main one, is political instability, the war of the laws, and the continuing disintegration of the state. One republic blocks the railways, another the ports, and another fails to contribute money to the Union budget, while a fourth introduces its own customs and currency. Most of all today, people are tired of uncertainty. How is one to live? What is going to happen next? Is the system of economic links and territorial relations going to be preserved or not? Having no answer to these questions, the country is essentially living one day at a time. This is a destructive condition. Why, indeed, should we create a future when we don't know what kind of future it will be?

The second reason, of no small importance, is the paralysis of power and government. A harvest that has not been brought in, delays in the transportation networks, litter on the streets of towns and the ever more impudent criminal world are signs that authority is lacking and that anarchy and chaos are close at hand.

And the third reason which has led to today's situation, it seems to us, is the ineffective economic policy of the central government and of many republican and local organs of government. It would be more accurate even to talk about the absence of economic policy as such. The half measures which have been taken and the programs which have been considered and confirmed have so far led to nothing. What they are considering now is not a program for our economic reform but a program for emerging from the crisis.

On behalf of the council of the General Confederation of Trade Unions an address has been sent to the president and the government of the USSR and to the heads of state and of government of the Union republics demanding that all essential work be completed and that the Union treaty be signed during April and May. The Soviet people have every grounds for making direct accusations of disregarding the interests of the nation against those who are holding up the resolution of these vitally important questions. We all have the moral right to demand of every official and of every people's deputy the highest degree of responsibility in working on and adopting these decisions.

Bringing the country out of the crisis will require tough and perhaps unpopular measures. For this, great support and trust from the people is required. In our view the anti-crisis measures program should be examined without delay at an extended session of the Federation Council, with the participation of representatives of the parliaments of the republics, the trade unions and all influential political movements. The discussion of the anticrisis program should be held with complete glasnost and should be published immediately. If the program does not receive support, an extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies is essential. I want to make it perfectly clear that in all of thse processes the trade unions see the main task as being to defend the working person and his family to the maximum.

As a result of the new situation in the country, which has made the lives of the working people and the whole population much more complicated, the second plenum of the Council of the General Confederation of Trade Unions put forward a number of demands to the government of the country and the republics. This concerns, first and foremost, the matter of how compensation can be provided for the exorbitant cost of living. After intense work and difficult tasks on Saturday, 20 April, an agreement was signed between the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the Council of the General Confederation of USSR Trade Unions for 1991.

I will name the most important issues on which we have reached decisions with the government. First, how can the excessive burden of the new prices be alleviated for people? It has been decided that the Cabinet of Ministers, together with the republics' governments, will establish a compensation procedure for the increase in the prices of meals in workers', students' and school canteens. This measure will affect more than 100 million people and will help the budgets of all families, especially in those regions where it is virtually impossible to buy food in the shops. We do have regions of that kind. In no way will today's wages cover the new prices. We have therefore reached agreeemnt with the government about starting this year, step-by-step increases in salaries,

starting with the basic branches of industry: These are metallurgy, chemicals, railway transportation, forestry and the defense industries.

In the next few days, the trade unions will start talks about wage rate agreements for different industries, specifically for each industry, for 1992. We shall conduct talks about a worthy price for manpower, the lifting of all restrictions on the increase of the pay of an individual worker and restrictions on growth of the consumer fund for enterprises. Without this wage reform will not work.

Third, the cost of clinics and health resort travelling arrangements will be compensated by a considerable increase in the social insurance fund. Seventy percent of package arrangements will be issued at 10 percent of their cost; 10 percent of them will be issued without charge; and 20 percent of the arrangements will be issued at 30 percent of cost. The increase in the cost of travel packages for workers and office staff will, in practice, be compensated from social insurance resources.

The cost of travel arrangements to health camps will also be compensated from the social insurance resources—pioneers' camps, children's camps where more than 20 million children spend their holidays every year, 50 percent will have these travel arrangements free of charge and 50 percent with a minimum payment. Special purpose social insurance resources will go to people who have suffered from ecological disasters, in particular the Chernobyl zone, the Aral Sea and Semipalatinsk. Social insurance funds will also go to compensate for the increae in prices to mothers on holiday looking after a child of up to one-and-a-half years old. They have found themselves practically without compensation.

Jointly with the governments of the Union republics, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers is determining the procedure for maintaining preferential transportation fees for students. At present, students have these benefits. Because of the increase in prices we want these benefits to be maintained.

Concerning the 5 percent tax, I have already said that all and sundry are protesting against this tax. So what have we managed to reach agreement on? The tax has not been completely abolished. But we reached agreement that for socially signficant goods, and we want to word it slightly differently, for the goods on which the basket, the consumer basket is determined, that there should be no 5 percent tax on these goods. For Russia, the press today published the list of goods on which there will be no 5 percent tax. We think the list of goods should be considerably expanded.

At the demand of the trade unions, the Cabinet of Ministers will, per the established procedure, draft and present a package of legislative provisions on the indexation of incomes, in view of the growth in prices. This is the question of questions. This question should be resolved in the shortest possible time because there is practically no guarantee that prices will now stay at this level. If prices change, there should naturally be indexation of income. Legislative proposals are required to exclude resources received in the form of travel arrangements for treatment, cheaper meals in canteens and cheaper travel to and from work, from the sums liable to income tax. If an enterprise makes payments to a worker in the form of these travel arrangements, meals and so on, these resources must not be liable to income tax. This affects many millions of working people.

These are the most acute and the most urgent questions. At the same time, the agreement for this year envisages the solution of some important major problems. These are, first and foremost, those of ensuring full employment for the population. Unemployment is becoming a reality. I will say just this, that a state fund for assisting employment will be formed during the first half of the year to support regions and industries particularly in need of state subsidies. Special measures have been mapped out for giving economic protection to workers in public health, education, culture and sports. Specific state programs will be worked out to deal with diseases of the cardiovascular system, AIDS, tuberculosis and the prevention of invalidity. It is intended to increase the currency allocation for the purchase of medicines and medical equipment. Specific measures have been defined in the area of labor protection. Agreement has been reached on additional measures to develop the social sphere in rural localities. In a separate section, we have singled out problems connected with the protection of the population against the effects and consequences of the Chernobyl disaster.

The Cabinet of Ministers and the Council of the General Confederation of Trade Unions are setting up a commission to monitor fulfilment of the present agreement and to resolve all issues arising during its implementation. The sides have agreed that the commission is headed by two cochairmen, at the level of deputy prime minister of the USSR and deputy chairman of the USSR General Confederation of Trade Unions. On our part this means Yakovlev, Albert Mikhaylovich. I would like to strtess that this coordinating commission, in our view, is an effective mechanism for resolving problems and labor conflicts, and creates a system for trade unions and governemnt that was lacking in the past.

The agreement between the trade unions and the government is the first one in the history of our state. This is a good precedent for civilized forms of relations between employers and trade unions. Of course, all this is not going to work if the disintegration of the economy and statehood are not halted, and if a normal working rhythm is not brought back. Otherwise, the crisis will inevitably be followed by disaster.

I would like to say that there is a firm intention in the Council of the General Confederation of Trade Unions not to sit watching events developing with our arms folded. If the situation demands, we will soon assemble

the second stage of the Congress of USSR Trade Unions to work out the tactics of our activities under extreme circumstances.

Specialist Group Examines Price Reform Issues

LD2004075791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1346 GMT 19 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 Apr (TASS)—A group of leaders and specialists from the central economic departments and ministries, and from the apparat of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers has been formed at the order of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers to effectively examine questions from citizens, from collectives at enterprises and organizations and from trade unions which concern the carrying out of the reform of retail prices and compensation payments to the population. USSR Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shcherbakov is coordinating its work.

They examined at the most recent session the issue of deliveries to the town of Novosibirsk of tea and tobacco products from Georgian industrial enterprises at retail prices which significantly exceed the top level which was established by the joint agreement between the USSR and the republics. In connection with the fact that this violation of common state prices and the system of estimates for goods transported beyond the boundaries of Georgia disrupts the financial basis of local budgets and destabilizes the all-Union market, it was proposed that the prices on the aforementioned products should be brought into line with the confirmed price tariffs.

Agricultural

Peasants Party Head on Private Agriculture

AU2304103991 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 23 Apr 91 p 9

[Report on interview with Russian Peasants Party Chairman Yuriy Chernichenko by Bernd Ziesemer; place and date not given: "An Audible Vote for Private Agriculture"]

[Text] Moscow, 22 April 1991—Yuriy Chernichenko, the chairman of the new Russian Peasants Party, is seeing a ray of hope for the ruined Soviet agriculture. In an interview with HANDELSBLATT, the Soviet Union's best known agricultural expert says that more than 5,000 private farms have been set up in the RSFSR during the last few months.

According to the agricultural expert, about 10,000 additional families in the largest Union republic are currently waiting to be allotted private arable land. Chernichenko: "With some external help, we could already produce a better harvest this fall." The Peasants Party chief considers the reprivatization of land the only chance for the Soviet Union. He says that with the land law, Boris Yeltsin has embarked on the correct course in the RSFSR.

"The main problem now is to carry out the law," says the eloquent writer who has published a dozen books on agricultural matters. "The CPSU apparatus is trying by all means to prevent the privatization of land." For instance, private farmers are only being allotted the worst areas of arable land, far away from every civilization, he says. In addition, the new farms do not even have the simplest agricultural equipment. The state-run kolkhozes, which in Chernichenko's view are nothing but an "Agrogulag," are using all the resources themselves.

The Peasants Party chairman cites as an example the decision made by Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov recently to give plastic foil for cultivating cucumber and tomatoes only to state-run agricultural enterprises.

Chernichenko hopes for help from the West, especially Germany, for the development of private agriculture in Russia. The German food relief for the Soviet Union was to him "just a joke and a favor for Mikhail Gorbachev." He says that there are more than 220 million hectares of arable land in the Soviet Union, and if it does not succeed in producing enough food for itself, no one can help the country. He adds that what Russia really needs is agricultural technology and agricultural know-how from the West: "Don't send us cornflakes, send us German tractors," says the agricultural expert. In his view, above all agricultural machinery from the new federal laender would be useful for the Russian private farmers: "We take everything, even used and broken machines."

After 70 years of socialism, are there still enough people ready to risk private enterprise? Chernichenko answers the question with a clear yes. He says that the CPSU has "spread the myth that the farmers do not want to have private land." The only thing that is correct about it is that many kolkhoz workers have forgotten to think and work as farmers, he says. The Peasants Party chief adds that the local party bureaucracy is still so strong that only few villagers are able to overcome the high barriers on the road to self-employment on their own. In addition, the few private farmers are concerned that Gorbachev might rescind Yeltsin's land law for the RSFSR.

Yet Chernichenko knows many examples of successful private initiative in agriculture from his own experience. For instance, an acquaintance of his from Smolensk set up his own enterprise last year by borrowing more than 20,000 rubles. After a year, he repaid the credit and made a profit of 80,000 rubles.

Such successes are possible owing to niches in the state agricultural structure. For instance, the kolkhozes do not deal with beekeeping. Therefore, private farmers can sell their honey in the peasant markets in the cities, practically without competition. "It is a myth of the communists that private agriculture cannot feed Russia," says Chernichenko, and he concludes: "The Russian peasant is not lazy, but the kolkhoz worker is, and he is a prisoner

of this system." He says that the kolkhoz system has brought the Soviet Union to a "stone-age level." Chernichenko, who is in his mid-sixties, knows life in the country and above all the sufferings of the Russian farmers from his own experience. His own grandfather died of hunger in a kolkhoz in the thirties.

Russia's Spring Sowing Readiness Reviewed

PM2204123791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Apr 91 First Edition p 1

["Agricultural Review" report by A. Gamov: "Spring Furrow"]

[Text] Judging from the operations summaries currently coming in to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of Agriculture and Food, virtually everywhere spring field work is being carried out in accordance with deadlines that are close to the optimal. The first million hectares of grain crops have already been sown. Top-dressing of winter crops has been carried out in half the scheduled areas. Other agrotechnical measures are being carried out successfully. Most importantly, there is no panic in the countryside today. Taking all this into account, as I.I. Gridasov, deputy chief of the RSFSR Glavzemleprom, noted during a meeting, it can be claimed with complete confidence that a confident start has been made to this year's sowing.

If we are talking about the readiness of machinery for field work throughout the Russian Federation as a whole, the situation still remains tense. On the threshold of going out into the fields, in most territories the readiness of the whole range of sowing and soil-tilling agricultural machines is approximately at the same level as at the beginning of March last year. A most unsatisfactory situation persists in the Novgorod, Kostroma, Kurgan, Perm, Kemerovo, and Irkutsk Oblasts, and in a number of other oblasts. According to current data, the readiness of machinery here is reaching only the 76-88 percent mark. A critical situation has developed in Chita Oblast, where one-fourth of plows, seed drills, and cultivators have not been prepared. Sverdlovsk Oblast still has to bring up to scratch the readiness of up to 10 percent of soil-tilling and sowing machines. Matters regarding these mechanisms are worse still in the Volga region's farms.

The technical condition of tractors, whose readiness in virtually all areas is close to last year's level, can be considered relatively satisfactory. But I think that agricultural workers clearly understand that the real life span of tractors is far from what it was even a year ago.

Unfortunately, this year technical services have flagged markedly in many places. In this connection the experience of Chelyabinsk Oblast merits close attention, where questions of servicing and diagnostic examination of machinery are solved using an engineering approach. Technical diagnostics centers and stations are operating here today in 12 repair enterprises and over 50 kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Work is being carried out in a coordinated and competent fashion, which is why the economic effect is quite impressive: Last year's costs for maintaining the machinery and tractor pool throughout the oblast's farms as a whole were reduced by more than 4 million rubles, and fuel expenditure decreased from 8 to 7.3 kg per hectare. Carrying out prerepair diagnostics has shown that over 1,500 tractors had a sufficient life span for further work and did not require overhaul.

Similar work is being carried out in Krasnodarskiy Kray, where computers are being utilized in the servicing and diagnostic examination of machinery. It is no accident that the Krasnodar people are already completely prepared for sowing and are successfully carrying out field work. Good experience in servicing powerful tractors has been accumulated in Krasnodarskiy Kray and Belgorod Oblast. Neither can we fail to express approval of the work of Kursk Oblast's agricultural engineering service, where at a difficult period of reorganization they managed to retain engineering technologists, with whose help farms are solving all technical problems during the spring field work.

Fulfilling tasks associated with the carrying out of sowing, we must not at the same time forget that even now the main forces must be concentrated on preparing machinery for feed procurement and harvesting. The situation regarding the solving of these questions is becoming critical. It is further aggravated by the fact that, compared with 1985, Russia's grain combine pool decreased by 92,000 units and its feed combine pool by 25,000 units. As a result the machinery's already high workload will increase and harvesting times will extend.

According to current data, the biggest laggards in the preparation of harvesting machines were Leningrad, Nizhnyy Novgorod, Penza, Ulyanovsk, and Chita Oblasts, the Buryat and Kalmyk Soviet Socialist Republics [as published], and Khabarovskiy Kray. In these regions from 40 to 50 percent of grain harvesting and feed harvesting machinery has been prepared, which is 15-25 units lower than last year's average figure. Time is passing but workshops for repairing complex harvesting machines in repair and technical enterprises are working at less than half capacity.

"There are several reasons here," K.I. Suslov, RSFSR deputy minister for agriculture and food, says. "On the one hand farms are not taking vehicles for repair, relying on their own resources and claiming that repairs by themselves are cheaper. On the other hand—and this has especially started manifesting itself this year—a number of repair and technical enterprises are refusing to accept complex machines because of the nonguaranteed supply of spare parts. However, the interests of the matter require us to take emergency measures, including measures that are not altogether popular from some ideologists' viewpoint. It is necessary to make full use of capacities, involve sponsors, and do everything possible to ensure that every harvesting unit is used in the work.

"An especially heavy workload is put on motor transport at harvest time. Suffice to say that in the Russian Federation around 626,000 trucks worked in the transportation of grain and feeds in 1990. It is possible to cite positive examples when agricultural formations, having fully committed their available transport potential, carried out harvesting calling on vehicles from other oblasts. The examples come primarily from the Krasnodar and Stavropol Kray Agro-Industrial Unions and the Rostov Agro-Industrial Union—previously up to 32,000 vehicles which are located in a Ministry of Defense department were sent to these regions.

"There is hope that a positive role in the improvement of transport servicing in the 1991 harvest will be played by the RSFSR Council of Ministers resolution adopted 4 February this year, in accordance with which councils of ministers of republics belonging to the RSFSR and executive committees of kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies are permitted to call on trucks with servicing personnel, a driver complement, and repair resources independent of departmental control for harvesting on mutually advantageous contract conditions. In accordance with the said resolution the Ministry of Agriculture and Food has submitted a proposal to the country's Ministry of Defense on sending not less than 37,000 trucks with a driver complement for harvest-related work. In the opinion of leaders of the RSFSR Ministry of Agriculture and Food, all these measures will enable the precise working of the whole harvesting process to be set in motion.

Scientific

Weather Service Satellite Launched 24 Apr

LD2404153491 Moscow TASS in English 1510 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 24 TASS—The Soviet Union today launched a weather service satellite, Meteor-3, to upgrade the country's meteorological system using space probes.

The mission aims to try out test and information instruments and remote sensing methods that will be employed to study the atmosphere and earth in the interest of the national economy and science.

A Tsiklon rocket delivered Meteor-3 to an orbit with the following parametres:

Initial period of revolution—109.5 minutes,

Maximum, distance from earth—1,229 kilometers,

Minimum distance—1,190 km,

Inclination—82.6 degrees.

The satellite's equipment is functioning normally.

Construction Partially Halted on Kalinin AES

LD2004102891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0700 GMT 20 Apr 91

[Text] A session of the Tver Oblast Soviet of Peoples Deputies has made a decision to halt the construction of the fourth block of Kalinin Nuclear Electric Power Station [AES] while continuing construction of the third block for now.

Arguments about the construction of the AES have been going on for several years. Opponents of the project assert that the site of the AES was selected very badly, in a water-shed region. The main argument of the supporters of the construction is the catastrophic shortage of power resources.

However, a state ecological expert commission study will have the last word. It is just beginning its work and will cost no less than 900,000 rubles.

Soviet Space Official on Future Prospects

AU2304083591 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Apr 91 p 25

[Interview with K.A. Kerimov, chairman of the Soviet State Committee in Charge of Manned Space Flights, by Andras Desi; in Budapest, date not given: "An 'Eminence Grise' of Soviet Space Research: We Should Stretch as Far as...."—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] We do not expect a sudden development in space research until the end of the century, a development similar to the one that took place in the past decades; in addition to the Mir program, Soviet space research will concentrate on helping solve the prevailing ecological problems—A.K. Kerimov pointed out in an interview he granted to NEPSZABADSAG during his visit to Hungary on the occasion of a festivity organized in memory of the first astronaut. This "eminence grise" of Soviet space research—the invisible person whom the returning Soviet cosmonauts report to—also participated in the preparations of Yuriy Gagarin's space flight.

[Desi] The Soviet Union lately seems to be displaying passivity in the space race, while the Americans have outdistanced you....

[Kerimov] There has been a competition in space research since we launched the first sputnik. We regularly took the lead in the years following this first success, but I would like to remind you of the words of the late U.S. President Kennedy: In the long run, the U.S. economy will prove to be much stronger.

The Americans like spectacular things, and I do not mean this in a pejorative sense. This also applies to space research. Obviously, landing on the moon was a great thing, but the fact that we also landed on the moon—

albeit with an automatic probe—received much less publicity. Our landing was cheaper and also less dangerous.

[Desi] Do you regard the U.S. space shuttle program as another such "spectacular thing?"

[Kerimov] The U.S. space shuttle program is fascinating, especially from the viewpoint of the actual transport capacity of 20 tonnes! This is fantastic! However, concerning the amount of work carried out, the Soviet Mir space station is much more efficient because it is constantly deployed in outer space. The U.S. space shuttle takes off for about one week at a time, and then it "rests" for two or three months.

The Americans have also realized that it is too expensive to use the space shuttle for launching satellites. Moreover, the Americans have been increasingly reducing the space shuttle program and they would also like to shift to our system. The Freedom space station, due to commence operations in 1995, is also part of this new program. The Americans also want to use "disposable" rockets, rather than the space shuttle, to send the various parts of the aforementioned space station into space.

[Desi] The Soviets also have their own space shuttle, the Buran.

[Kerimov] The Buran was born in the wake of a political decision. At the time, the Soviet political leadership regarded the U.S. space shuttle as a potential weapon and threat. Therefore, our leadership gave the order to build something similar. Essentially, our Buran does the same things as the Space Shuttle and, naturally, it is as expensive as the Space Shuttle. However, our space shuttle is guided by an automatic device, and the Buran's rocket—the Energia—can also be used separately, while the Saturn used by the Space Shuttle can only be used with the space shuttle.

[Desi] Still, what do you plan to do with the Buran?

[Kerimov] We would like to send it into space around the end of 1992 in a modified version, with a crew on board. However, we had to slow the program recently because of a lack of funds.

[Desi] I presume this lack of funds is connected with the general problems facing the Soviet economy.

[Kerimov] The Soviet economic restructuring also affects us. Previously, we used to receive as much as we wanted from the central budget. However, today we only receive funds for basic research, and the rest we must earn ourselves. In other words, we are commercializing our services: For example, we are launching sputniks into space for commission. Our Buran program is secondary, and the Mir program continues to receive all the necessary support.

[Desi] By how much was your budget cut?

[Kerimov] We are getting now ten times less than we used to get before restructuring began. Manpower is the most expensive item, and we spend most of our budget on keeping the people.

[Desi] Quite strong Soviet-U.S. space research cooperation emerged in the seventies. What is left of this cooperation?

[Kerimov] This was a love affair that started nicely and came to a sudden end. Probably both sides are to blame for this. At present, we do not have any specific agreement, although former president Ronald Reagan also talked about a joint Soviet-U.S. Mars program. However, President Bush said last year that Americans would be the first to reach Mars.

[Desi] A certain regression could be noticed recently in general Hungarian-Soviet relations. To what extent can this be felt in space research, especially in view of the fact that Hungary used to take an active part in the Intercosmos program?

[Kerimov] One of the goals of my visit was to restore the good old relations on new foundations. Hungary can continue to participate in the Intercosmos program and we are ready to accept Hungarian cosmonauts too, if financial conditions are agreed on the basis of mutual interest.

[Desi] What results can we expect in space research in coming years?

[Kerimov] We can hardly count on a sudden development similar to the one prevailing in the sixties and seventies. In the future, Soviet space research will increasingly serve the interests of the Soviet economy and of solving our ecological problems. Besides, I am for international cooperation: Every "space nation" should contribute to the common cause with its best knowledge. Together, we could make a big leap more easily.

Military

Army Aide Denies Military Spending Increased

PM2404103391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Apr 91 First Edition p 4

[Reply by Colonel General G. Krivosheyev, chief of a Main Directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, to reader's letter; first paragraph is reader's letter: "Military Expenditure: What Is It Really?"]

[Text] I have read in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA M. Zakharov's speech at the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies in which he claims that we are currently maintaining a 5-million-strong army in the country and that we have this year increased military expenditure by 30 billion rubles [R] to total 100 billion. Is this true? [Signed] N. Rozhkova

Col. Gen. G. Krivosheyev, chief of a Main Directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff:

The figures published in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA do not correspond to reality. Even under the prescribed manning levels our Army numbers 3.76 million men. However, because of serious understaffing the actual number is 3.4 million. This, incidentally, almost corresponds to the numerical strength of the U.S. Army.

As for military expenditure, it was cut this year by almost R6 billion. However, owing to the slump in the ruble exchange rate it now totals around R98 billion instead of 65 billion.

Ground Forces Directorate Views Training

PM2404155591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Apr 91 First Edition p 2

[Colonel A. Burygin report: "In the Light of New Experience"]

[Text] The Ground Forces Military-Political Directorate has held a training methodology meeting. The reports delivered by Army General A. Betekhtin, first deputy commander in chief of the Ground Forces, and Colonel General N. Moiseyev, chief of the Ground Forces Military-Political Directorate, and speeches by Ye. Kobtsev, CPSU Central Committee sector chief, Colonel V. Ochirov, deputy chairman of a USSR Supreme Soviet committee, and others extensively revealed experience in training and retraining personnel for work in the renewed structures.

Colonel General N. Shlyaga, chief of the USSR Armed Forces Military-Political Directorate and USSR first deputy defense minister, took part in the meeting's work.

Inquiry on Peacetime Army Deaths

PM2404134091 Moscow IAN PRESS RELEASE in English

[Article by Aleksandr Kharlamov, reprinted "in full" from KURANTY No. 67: "Killed in Peacetime"]

[Text] According to the report of the fact-finding commission concerned with the effectiveness of investigation of deaths and injuries of the military in peace time, in the past 15 years 120,000 servicemen died, or 8,000 a year on average. (Cf.: the State Planning Committee puts the annual number of military deaths at 6,600.)

Judging from the mail received by the commission, the deaths were caused by suicide (50 per cent), inflicted injuries (20 per cent), overheating and electric burns and shocks (5 per cent), accidents (10 per cent). In 15 per cent of the cases under review persons were reported missing. The commission believes that cerebral and cranial injuries, rape and other moral and physical shocks caused disability in 30 per cent of the cases reviewed, while bodily diseases and drafting of sick persons acount for 40 and 30 per cent of the cases respectively. Irregular practices are at the source of 75-80 per cent of death and 70 per cent of disability cases. On the whole the annual number of deaths and injuries in the Army and construction units is growing.

The commission has concluded that most of the provisions of the executive order of November 15, 1990 have been only partially complied with or not complied at all.

Officials Sign Army General Vasyagin's Obituary

91UM0580A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Apr 91 First Edition p 3

[Obituary for General of the Army Semen Petrovich Vasyagin]

[Text] General of the Army Semen Petrovich Vasyagin, an eminent political worker of the USSR Armed Forces, died on 14 April 1991 after a difficult and lengthy illness. A true son of the Soviet people, an active participant in the Great Patriotic War, who devoted his entire adult life to selfless service to the homeland and the cause of the Communist Party, of which he was a member since 1932, has departed this life.

S.P. Vasyagin was born on 15 February 1910 in the village of Belyayevo in Goritskiy Rayon in Tver Oblast into a worker's family. After completing rural school, he began his labor activity at the age of 14. In 1932 he was called into the Soviet Army, in whose ranks he followed the path from a Red Army soldier in a railroad regiment to a general in the Army.

S.P. Vasyagin has been on active duty since the beginning of the Great Patriotic War. He has been deputy chief of the political department, military commissar, and chief of the political department of the rifle division and rifle corps. He fought on the Western, Kalinin, First Baltic, and Third Belorussian fronts and proved himself to be a courageous, enterprising, and experienced political worker. In difficult combat situations he made justified decisions, conducted effective political educational work with the troops, and inspired them to achieve victories over the enemy.

In postwar times S.P. Vasyagin has held responsible positions in the troop units, was the chief of the political department of the corps, and a member of the military council—chief of the political administration of a number of military districts and the Group of Soviet Troops in Germany. He was a member of the military council for a long time—as chief of the political administration of the Ground Forces. After 1980 he was the military inspector-adviser for the group of general inspectors of the USSR Ministry of Defense.

S.P. Vasyagin devoted all of his energy, knowledge, experience, and organizational capabilities to the cause of increasing the combat readiness of the troops. In all areas of his work he was distinguished by efficiency, competence, and adherence to principles in carrying out his tasks, modesty and demandingness with respect to

himself and his subordinates, and a polite and respectful attitude toward people. He participated actively in socio-political life and was elected delegate to a number of CPSU congresses and deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The homeland valued S.P. Vasyagin's services highly. He was awarded the Order of the October Revolution, four Orders of the Red Banner, the Order of Kutuzov Second Degree, two Orders of the Patriotic War First Degree, and the Orders of the Labor Red Banner, Red Star, and "For Service to the Homeland in the USSR Armed Forces" Second and Third Degrees. He earned a number of awards from foreign countries.

The bright memory of Semen Petrovich Vasyagin, a true son of the Soviet people, will remain in our hearts forever.

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, G.N. Yanayev, A.N. Lukyanov, V.S. Pavlov, V.A. Ivashko, D.T. Yazov, O.D. Bailanov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, M.A. Moiseyev, P.G. Lushev, K.A. Kochetov, N.I. Shlyaga, Yu.P. Maksimov, V.I. Varennikov, I.M. Tretyak, Ye.I. Shaposhnikov, V.N. Chernavih, B.M. Shuralev, V.M. Arkipov, V.P. Mironov, V.A. Achalov, N.V. Chekov, V.L. Govorova, V.F. Yermakov, Yu.A. Yashin, S.F. Akhromeyev, V.G. Kulikov, N.V. Ogarkov, V.N. Petrov, S.L. Sokolov, B.P. Burayev, I.G. Pavlovskiy, A.N. Soshnikov, N.A. Moiseyev, A.D. Lizichev, A.I. Sorokin, V.M. Shabanov.

Baltic Republics

Republic Leaders Discuss Economic Ties in Estonia

LD2504093391 Moscow TASS in English 0925 GMT 25 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn April 25 TASS—Leaders of some Union republics are opening their fifth meeting here today. Prime ministers of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Moldova are participating. It is expected that Russia, Kirghizia and Uzbekistan will send their representatives.

The Tallinn meetings discuss purely economic problems and aim at creating horizontal ties between republics irrespective of their stand on the future of the Soviet Union.

The two-day meeting will be held behind "closed doors". Delegations will also hold bilateral business talks.

Estonian Deputies Salary Increase Questioned

LD2304223791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1300 GMT 23 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, 23 Apr (TASS)—The Supreme Soviet of Estonia has decided to increase deputies' pay. From 1 May the salary of a deputy will be equal to 2.5 times "the average monthly wage of the current year in the Estonian republic." According to preliminary data, this amounts to about R400. Consequently, the salary of a deputy will be in the area of R1,000, plus 20 percent of the average monthly wage of the current year" for deputies' expenses. This supplement will not be subject to income tax.

The size of the salaries of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, the speaker of the legislature, his deputies, the head of government, and the members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Board of the Supreme Soviet have also been confirmed. Depending on their position on the heirarchical ladder in the legislative body of power, they will receive from three to five times the "average monthly wage of the current year" per month.

A decision has also been made to adjust the pay of deputies and the amount of compensation paid to them twice a year.

Deputy (Tiit Made) pointed to the moral aspect of the problem: "How will the increase in deputies' pay be received by retirees?" The average pension today is R105 per month. The decision adopted at the previous session to increase them by 25-50 rubles per month, and in the future to add to pensions at higher percentage rates, will only partially compensate for the heady increase in the cost of living, and retirees will continue to have the status of the least well off group in the population.

Tallinn Party Votes Sillari Out of CPSU

91UN1353A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 18 Apr 91 p 3

[Article by correspondent Sergey Tarakanov: "Expelled From the CPSU"]

[Text] Tallinn—A report and election conference of the Tallinn city organization of the Communist Party of Estonia (CPSU) found the work of the city committee to be unsatisfactory. As was noted at the conference, bureau meetings and plenums have not been convened for almost one and a half years as a result of separatist activities by a number of former leaders. The remaining apparatus has been almost inactive.

The decision of the conference to expel E.-A. Sillari, former first secretary of the city committee and currently first secretary of the Central Committee of the independent Communist Party of Estonia and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, for disorganizing the work of the city committee may be called sensational. Proceeding from the provision on dual membership being impermissible, the delegates also voted to remove E.-A. Sillari from the Politburo, in the belief that his separatist activities discredit the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

Let me note that from the point of view of the statute, the decision of the conference to expel the former leader from the party is legally valid. Apparently, it is up to a Central Committee plenum to decide whether he is to be a member of the Politburo.

Estonian Komsomol Changes Name

91US0463A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 26 Mar 91 p 3

[Article by L. Turpakova: "What Should We Call You Now?"]

[Text] The 22d Congress of the LKSME [Leninist Communist Youth League of Estonia] was held in Tallinn on Saturday, 23 March, this time in a half-empty auditorium. Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Youth Communist League] leaders did not wear formal men's suits which are customary at the events of this nature. All persons entering were asked to produce their credentials; subsequently, delegates and guests were registered.

LKSME Central Committee First Secretary N. Gogulan opened the congress with a report. There is no need to render the report even in brief; the title "On the Activities of the LKSME Central Committee in the Reporting Period and Prospects for Development" speaks for itself. Secretary of the Komsomol Committee of the Elektroteknika Association N. Timofeyev evaluated this speech objectively, calling it "admittedly boring."

The need to bring the name of "an organization of ethnic minorities," which is what the Komsomol has become in

the republic recently, in line with today's realities became the main reason for the convocation of the Komsomol congress.

The LKSME was renamed the Youth Union of Estonia. The statute was also amended insignificantly.

Secretary of the Communist Party of Estonia (CPSU) Central Committee P. Panfilov, who was a guest of the congress, expressed his doubts concerning the viability of an organization which does not have a unified view of surrounding reality and a unified ideological linchpin. However, the former Komsomol, even with its new name, may count on the support of the Communist Party of Estonia on the platform of the CPSU and on cooperation with it, incidentally, as any other youth organization.

Yu. Zobnin, a member of the delegation of the "Red" Lithuanian Komsomol, called for refraining from the name change.

Chairman of the Board of the Associations of Estonian Youth Kh. Mardo was one of the few people to deserve applause. He welcomed the renewal of the Komsomol and expressed his hopes for contacts between young people and joint activities.

The new statute also calls for the payment of membership dues amounting to one percent of wages. This is a minimum. All primary organizations may opt for their own versions. Those who have incomes under the subsistence level do not pay dues.

By 2100 hours, the proceedings of the congress were completed. A. Gaysin (previously second secretary of the LKSME Central Committee) was elected first secretary of the Youth Union of Estonia.

They used to be called "Komsomol members." What are they now?

Latvia's Godmanis Meets With Pavlov in Moscow

LD2504101891 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0430 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Head of the Latvian Government Ivars Godmanis has met in Moscow with the leader of the USSR Government Pavlov. Questions related to economic cooperation and the formation of both states' budgets were discussed. Pavlov, we remind you, recently came forward with a new anticrisis program for the state, which provides among other things the formation of a remarkable centralized fund.

Soviet Soldiers Occupy Lithuanian Bank 24 Apr

LD2404134191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 1130 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Report by ELTA correspondent Romauldas Cesna]

[Text] At about 1100 today [0800 GMT] a group of servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces occupied the building in Naujoji Vilnia where the Naujoji Vilnia branch of the Agro-Industrial Bank of the Republic of Lithuania and the Commercial Bank which is registered in the Soviet Union as a branch of the Bank of the Soviet Union are located. The servicemen are in control of the building and the main entrance to it. The servicemen also forced themselves into the cashier's office of the Agro-Industrial Bank where the money is kept.

The occupiers explained that they were carrying out the orders of USSR Interior Minister Boris Pugo about the protection of banks.

At 1220 V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, spoke on the phone with V. Doguzhiyev, first deputy prime minister of the Soviet Union. He expressed concern about the occupation of these banks and about possible attacks on other bank offices of the Republic of Lithuania.

V. Doguzhiyev assured him that there could be no talk about the use of force; everything should be solved by political means and by economic agreements.

Commenting on this, A. Azubalis, representative of the Supreme Council for the press, said that one more breeding ground of tension has been set up by the Soviet servicemen [words indistinct]. As is known, the bank building is guarded by police of the Republic of Lithuania. Luckily, there were no incidents.

The representative for the press remarked that in the Republic of Lithuania's 20 April memorandum to USSR President Gorbachev which was signed by V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, the Soviet Union is invited to refrain from the use of force in the Republic of Lithuania.

Today we have received the answer, in quote marks, to this.

Pugo Did Not Order Occupation

LD2404193491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1747 GMT 24 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandras Budris]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Apr (TASS)—The Information Bureau of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet has circulated a report that this morning a group of military personnel occupied a commercial bank branch in the Lithuanian capital's Novo-Vilnyasskiy Rayon. The document also says that the military simultaneously seized the premises of the AgroBank of the Lithuanian Republic, housed in the same building. According to the bureau, the military personnel who occupied the building invoked an order of USSR Internal Affairs Minister Boris Pugo.

As the TASS correspondent was told at the press center of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry, Boris Pugo did not issue any such instructions. The management of Novo-Vilnyasskiy Commercial Bank, which deals with

the financial operations of Union-jurisdiction enterprises on Lithuanian territory, had itself asked the local special militia detachment (OMON) to take over the protection of the bank on contract. This request was met.

Commenting on these events, Audryus Azhubalis, an official spokesman of the Lithuanian legislature, said "military personnel of the Soviet Union have created yet another source of tension, since armed representatives of two services for the protection of law and order are now to be found in the same building." The bank premises are also guarded by Lithuanian Internal Affairs Ministry personnel, who do not come under the Union ministry.

As is known, when the military took control of a number of buildings in Vilnius in January, this led to bloodshed.

Bank Seeks Help From Soviet MVD

LD2404194791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1818 GMT 24 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Serafim Bykhun]

[Text] Vilnius, 24 Apr (TASS)—The Novo-Vilnyasskiy Commercial Bank, situated in one of the rayons of the capital, was today occupied by military servicemen of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD].

Aleksey Mishakov, the bank's president, told a TASS correspondent that the Novo-Vilnyasskiy Commercial Bank was registered in the USSR State Bank and has Union status. However, in its desire to abolish all Soviet structures in the republic's banking system, and knowing that the bank serves enterprises and organizations with Russian-speaking collektives, the Lithuanian National Bank demanded that the financial activities of the Novo-Vilnyasskiy bank should be subordinate only to its interests. Shareholders rejected this illegal demand outright.

"When all attempts to 'stifle' our bank economically and intimidate our staff by means of blackmail, threats, and moral terror failed to yield the expected results," Aleksey Mishakov noted, "the republican authorities resorted to the aid of fighters from the kray guards' department. Having seized our premises on 18 April, they began to dictate their own conditions: Not to allow people in to work, to threaten them, and so on. Proceeding from the situation which had been created, we were forced to turn to the leadership of the USSR MVD for help, in order to protect the bank on the basis of the USSR president's decree of 12 October 1990 on protecting socialist property in the USSR."

'Extreme Brutality' Noted

LD2404231891 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] Today Vytautas Landsbergis once again had to appeal to the Soviet leader to stop using force in Lithuania.

Approximately at 1130 the Black Berets of the Soviet Interior Forces took over the bank building in Naujoji Vilnia, one of the suburbs of Vilnius.

The building housed the sub-divison of the Lithuanian Agro-industrial Bank and the Commercial Bank of Naujoji Vilnia. And the latter continued to operate according to the Soviet legislation.

One of the staff members of the Agro-industrial Bank told Radio Vilnius that the attack was carried out with extreme brutality. The Black Berets ordered the people to stand still and pushed staff members around, not allowing them to perform any financial operations. According to an eye-witness, 25 black berets who arrived in a military canvas-covered truck and in two jeeps took part in the attack. After breaking into the bank premises, they said that they were acting on the orders of Boris Pugo, the Soviet minister for interior affairs.

At present the building is guarded by both the Soviet soldiers and the Lithuanian police. The Lithuanian police did not resist the attack. No victims are reported.

(Zenon Zilevicius), head of the Lithuanian sub-divison of the Soviet State Bank, told Radio Vilnius that the occupied commercial bank was set up by several Naujoji Vilnia enterprises that chose to remain subordinate to Moscow. Mr. Zilevicius said that the correspondent's account of the Naujoji Vilnia Commercial Bank has been closed down from 1 May on.

Following the take-over of the bank building in Naujoji Vilnia, Vytautas Landsbergis telephoned Vitaliy Doguzhiyev, Soviet first deputy prime minister.

Vitaliy Doguzhiyev assured Mr. Landsbergis that this incident is not the beginning of a series of actions against the Lithuanian banks. Earlier on Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev had said that it is necessary to restore a unified banking system in the Soviet Union.

Reports had been coming in for the past few weeks that the Soviet military were observing the buildings housing Lithuanian banks.

Vilius Baldisius, board chairman of the Lithuanian Bank, and Pranas Vilunas, board chairman of the Lithuanian Agro-industrial Bank, protested against the illegal activities carried out by the Soviet Armed Forces and demanded that the Black Berets immediately leave the banks' premises.

The statement made by the Lithuanian bankers says that this action was organized by the managers of the Naujoji Vilnia Commercial Bank and the local pro-Moscow communist leaders.

It has become known to the Lithuanian specialists in finance that the Kremlin is trying to set up an alternative bank on the territory of Lithuania to finance the local enterprises that remain to be subordinated to Moscow and the pro-Moscow Communist Party of Lithuania.

Paratroopers Attack Lithuanian Clubs

LD2504074191 Berlin ADN in German 0715 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Soviet paratrooper units attacked two buildings in Lithuania this morning. A spokesman for the Lithuanian news agency ELTA told ADN's Moscow office that at 0600 the soldiers forced their way into two equipment clubs [technik klubs] in the towns of Alitus and Mariampole. The two clubs used to belong to the Soviet military sport organization, the DOSAAF. They took vehicles that were parked in garages there to nearby barracks. During the night unknown individuals with submachine guns shot at a restaurant in the Lithuanian locality of Nemencine, 50 km from Vilnius. According to information available at this time, no one was hurt.

Soviet military personnel also occupied two sports airfields in the localities of Kyviskes and Palukne this morning. The installations also belonged to DOSAAF at one time. They are now used by members of the "Vites," the Lithuanian club for sport and technology.

Klaipeda Port Strike Continues for Second Day

LD2304214291 Moscow TASS in English 1925 GMT 23 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Klaipeda (Lithuanian Republic) April 23 TASS—A strike of dockers at the Klaipeda merchant port has gone into its second day. A meeting on Monday evening between the administration and the strike committee failed to work out a compromise solution.

This was also confirmed by two meetings held today in the port. At one of the rallies dockers reaffirmed their demand for a 300 per cent rise in wages and better working conditions. At the same time, speakers at a meeting of the administration said dockers' demands were "unreal and unworkable".

So far, the strike involves mainly dockers, some 1,500 people, who are the backbone of the port. Since the start of the strike, the port has been nearly paralysed, as eight vessels, six of them foreign, are waiting to be unloaded in and outside the port. The vessels have brought potatoes, flour, grain and other cargo needed by Lithuania and the Soviet Union.

Nothing has been known so far about measures by the USSR Merchant Marine Ministry to stop the strike. [sentence as received]

Representatives of the Lithuanian Ministry of Procurement were sent today to meet the strikers and the administration of the port.

Strikers Win Wage Increase

LD2404163991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1517 GMT 24 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Klaipeda (Lithuania), 24 Apr (TASS)—The strike of dock workers, which lasted for about 36 hours, ended here today. The main demand of the Klaipeda Maritime Commercial Port workers was an increase in wages.

Nikolay Berezhnoy, the port chief, told a TASS correspondent that, as a result of mutual concessions, a protocol was signed on Tuesday evening between the administration and the dockers, according to which workers' wage rates have been increased.

Agreement Detailed

LD2404230191 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] The dockers at the Klaipeda port resumed work today after a two-day strike. Late last night the port administration and the dockers signed a protocol of agreement which provides for an increase in the dockers' wages from 1 May. The administration also undertook a pledge not to apply any sanctions to the organizers of the strike. A representative of the strike committee stated that their demands have been partially satisfied. From now on the earnings of the dockers will increase by about two and a half times for heavy loading of meat, grain, and other products and will reach on the average 900 rubles per month.

The increase of wages was the main demand of the strikers. But their representative pointed out that there still remain many unsolved problems. At present the dockers intend to form their independent trade union.

The Klaipeda port is of disputable subordination and at present its work is being guided by corresponding Soviet ministries. It is to them that the strikers were addressing their claims. Each of the two days of the strike cost the port over 100,000 rubles. Hard currency will have to be paid to foreign vessels which were idle in the port.

Landsbergis Memorandum to Gorbachev Detailed

LD2404162491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1540 GMT 24 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandras Budris]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Apr (TASS)—On Tuesday Egidius Bickauskas, the Lithuanian Republic's permanent representative in Moscow, handed a memorandum to the secretariat of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev "On the Need for a Resumption of Legal Interstate Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Lithuanian Republic". The document is signed by Vytautas Landsbergis, head of the Lithuanian Parliament.

The memorandum notes, in particular, that Lithuania "has consistently favored constructive talks as a way of returning to legal relations between the Soviet Union and the Lithuanian Republic". The purpose of such talks, the document says, should be the conclusion of a political treaty on the resumption of good-neighborly interstate relations on an equal basis between the Lithuanian Republic and the USSR, in accordance with the generally accepted principles of international law, as well as the resumption by the USSR of its acknowledgement of the Lithuanian Republic's independence.

Vytautas Landsbergis has urged the USSR leadership to declare its fundamental rejection of the use of force and threats of the use of force, thus creating a normal political atmosphere for talks between the USSR and the Lithuanian Republic.

As already reported, a meeting of the official delegations of the USSR and Lithuania under the leadership of Vitaliy Doguzhiyev, first deputy USSR prime minister, and Ceslovas Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, was held on 4 April. The main result was an agreement by the delegations on the purpose of future bilateral talks—"the settlement of relations between the USSR and the Lithuanian Republic". The next meeting of the delegations is due to take place at the end of April—beginning of May.

RSFSR

Supreme Soviet Debates Presidency Bill

LD2404123191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 0900 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Report from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet by Leonid Lazarevich]

[Text] Important bills—in my view very important bills indeed—are being adopted and discussed today, namely the draft law on the president of the Russian Federation and the one on the election of the Russian president. It was suggested that work should start with discussion of the bill on the president of the Russian Federation: Well now, do you start by determining who to elect and then how to elect him? Anyway, they started to discuss the draft law on elections of the RSFSR president. Some of the articles—the first five of a total of 18—have already been adopted. Discussion is proceeding in a very businesslike spirit.

Who, then, can be the president of the RSFSR? The election of the president of the Russian Federation is carried out by all citizens of Russia on the basis of universal, equal, and direct franchise and by secret ballot. Any citizen of our republic between the ages of 35 and 65 can become the president of Russia: I might say here that had such laws applied in France and the United States, then neither de Gaulle nor Reagan would even have become the presidents of those countries.

Furthermore, the very important question of who should finance the presidential election campaign. Well, first of all funds will come from the republican budget, as well as the private means of the candidates and voluntary contributions to the campaign from interested citizens, labor collectives, public organizations, and mass movements. I would like to stress here that parties are not included in this list. These funds will go into a common pool at the central electoral committee and will then be divided up equally so that all will have equal rights.

Well then, who in principle can be a presidential candidate? The candidate must have the backing of 100,000 citizens; and anyone with the backing of at least one-fifth of the total number of RSFSR people's deputies by a date no later than 15 days before the date of the elections can run. Well, the voting will be (?soft) [myagkiy].

This is a very important and interesting law, and I want to reiterate that the discussion is proceeding exclusively in a businesslike manner. On that note, I conclude my live report.

Presidency Law Approved

LD2404154891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1136 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Report from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet in Moscow by correspondent Leonid Lazarevich]

[Text] The law on the election of the RSFSR president was adopted at the morning sitting of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and will come into force tomorrow, following its publication. The president of the RSFSR will be elected through universal, direct, secret ballot. All citizens of Russia who have reached 18 years of age can take part in the voting. Only a citizen of our republic no younger than 35 years and no older than 65 years can be elected president of Russia. The president is elected for five years—and one more restriction is being introduced: the president of Russia cannot be elected to more than two consecutive terms in office. The law has been adopted and the discussion passed in a very businesslike atmosphere—if only parliaments could always work like that. It seems to me that the praise here goes mainly to the Legislative Committee of the Russian Supreme Soviet.

Many amendments and proposals from various factions and deputies' groups were included in this draft law at the stage when it was being elaborated further and that is why the discussion went quite smoothly and simply. Now, as you know, the election of the president of Russia is due to take place on 12 June. The election will be deemed valid if more than 50 percent of the voters take part in them. The person who gets more than 50 percent of votes of those who have taken part in the voting will be elected.

Apparently the presidential campaign will get under way soon. Public organizations and parties will have the right

to put forward candidates. Those who have received the support of 100,000 voters and of one-fifth of Supreme Soviet members—one-fifth of Russia's people's deputies—can become registered candidates.

So, the law has been adopted. The Supreme Soviet now has an interval in its work. At 1600 it will assemble to adopt yet another important draft law. How to elect and whom to elect we already know, but now the next in line is the draft law on the USSR president. It will be discussed. Its draft is now in front of me. At 1600 the sitting will begin. This was a live report from the session of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet.

RSFSR Presidential Election Prospects Eyed

PM2404145391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Apr 91 First Edition p 1

["Seven Days" report by Vyacheslav Lukashevich: "Excuse Me, But Who is the Latest Presidential Candidate?"]

[Excerpts] The evolution of our country's ubiquitous, never-ending lines of people seems to be reaching its apotheosis. These lines have progressed from beer stalls and rural stores to parliamentary rostrums and microphones, and now contenders are lining up for the Russian presidency. Say what you like, politics form part of the culture of the society in which they are carried out. True, I am not sure that Pushkin, Dostoyevskiy, Rakhmaninov, or Shostakovich could have persuaded some of today's people's deputies who do, in turn, persuade hundreds of thousands of citizens to turn out on Manezh Square or the Kreshchatik. But rivers do not, as we know, flow backward: They flow forward.

However, as a philosopher once said, everything is interconnected in this world. Politics, culture, waiting lines, rallies, parties, the market, prices, prime ministers, general secretaries, presidents... Special interest is now being shown, incidentally, in the presidents. Digging up the "dictatorship of the proletariat," some political forces are demanding the resignation of the USSR president, while others—no less zealously—are rallying the people for this June's Russian presidential election. [passage omitted]

However, in Russia, a republic of more temperate climate, it seems that no return to the "democracy of routine applause" is foreseen. On the contrary, the election campaign promises a fierce battle whose victor, if elections take place, it is difficult to predict. It is even more difficult to predict how this contest will progress. It has in effect already begun, having been launched at the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet session which resumed work 18 April.

The parliamentarians have to examine important laws, including the laws "On the RSFSR Presidency" and "On the RSFSR Presidential Election," several alternative drafts of which already exist, and then ratify them at the 21 May congress. This work will undoubtedly be difficult, not just because a mechanism for holding nationwide presidential elections (remember the president of the republic was elected at a Congress of People's Deputies, at sessions of it) is being developed in our country for the first time, but also because there is confrontation in the Russian Supreme Soviet between political blocs and factions which are clearly pursuing their own far-reaching aims. Every point of the draft laws will be fought for, but the real point of this contest is clearly whether Boris Yeltsin, whose nomination will probably be made at the council of Democratic Russia representatives 27-28 April, is to be RSFSR president.

It has to be said that, according to certain polls, Boris Nikolayevich enjoys pretty high ratings in the republic today and the likelihood of his winning is very real, too. [passage omitted]

But let us return, nevertheless, to Russia, where the warm-up for the election marathon has already started. Sergey Shakhray, chairman of the parliamentary legislative committee, has described the concept of the draft law "On the RSFSR Presidency" prepared by his committee as a "soft presidency." It is proposed that the Russian president will not have the right to dissolve parliament or suspend its work. The president, as head of the executive, appoints—with parliament's assent—the chairman of the republic Council of Ministers and, jointly with the latter, forms the government. The Supreme Soviet can introduce a vote of no confidence in the whole of the Council of Ministers. The draft law provides a mechanism for removing the president from power if he breaches the Constitution or laws of the republic.

But whatever the draft, it is essential to bear in mind that during its examination by deputies of different political persuasions Boris Nikolayevich's profile will constantly appear over it. Here is a small but graphic example. RSFSR People's Deputy Vladimir Yesaulov has already stated that a group of Russian deputies intends to propose an age restriction for the future president of the republic: from 40 through 60 (35 through 65 in S. Shakhray's draft). Yeltsin, as people are aware, recently crossed the threshold of 60.

It cannot be ruled out that obstacles of another kind could appear on the present Russian leader's presidential path. For example, a strong rival. Some political experts think that the figure of Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin might appear in the Russian firmament: Bakatin is a political figure who combines democratic principles, qualities of gravity and balance, which Yeltsin precisely lacks, and sober calculation and farsightedness. Nor must it be forgotten that Bakatin, like Yeltsin, also knew disfavor, was, by comparison with Yeltsin, "unemployed" for several months rather than several days, and enjoys what could be the most important thing—popularity among the people.

There is yet another possible scenario, in my opinion. It cannot be ruled out that from among the Russian parliamentary chairman's supporters Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak, deputy and professor, who has honed his arguments on the rostrum of Union congresses and who is relatively young and left of center, will not enter the fray. In any event he intimated at the Leningrad City Soviet session of 18 April that he "will most likely not take part" in the Leningrad mayoral elections, which are also being held 12 June.

As people know, the elections will be held on a multiparty basis, and there will clearly be around 10, possibly more, presidential contenders. It is envisaged that congress voting will filter out candidates, leaving two, at most three, names to be put on the voting paper. But I would not hazard to predict today who is going to figure on that slip of paper. [passage omitted]

Sobchak, Fedorov Cited on Yeltsin, Strikes

PM2404145591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 91 Second Edition pp 1, 6

[Unattributed feature under the rubric "Our Own People About Us": "Opinion for Export"]

[Text] B. Fedorov, who in the recent past was Russia's finance minister and worked with Yeltsin, has become a staffer of the new European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. He recently said in an interview that Gorbachev is a more serious politician than Yeltsin. Simon Broudi [name as transliterated], editor of the program "Argument," asked B. Fedorov in London to develop that idea in greater detail.

[Fedorov] I meant that on economic questions Boris Nikolayevich has, unfortunately, not shown sufficient interest either in budget problems or in economic problems generally. In this sense I was very disappointed, because I had, after all, gone there to tackle the reform of the economy, but everything boiled down to a popular measure or an unpopular one and confrontation.... Therefore we succeeded in doing very little, and the three months that I have been outside the Russian Government prove that, apart from scandals, the results have so far been zero.

Today I believe that there is, unfortunately, no plan that anyone intends to fulfill. I believe that it can only be done by someone who resolutely embarks on transformations, and this can be done even at the Russian level because agriculture, for example, is already entirely virtually under Russia's jurisdiction, as is a tremendous section of industry, although many raw material and strategic items are not in the government's hands. But if we know that there is a budget deficit, then let us make it acceptable at least in Russia, so that it is financed with civilized methods. But this is still not being done. Unfortunately, this was not of interest to anyone. In my opinion, the struggle for sovereignty could have made sense and must make sense only when it is aimed at really changing the system—which will benefit everyone. Because, if this is simply a struggle among groups of people as to who will have more power—this government or that, but without changing the system—then this still does not make sense.

The newspaper AZ (Austria) published an interview with A.A. Sobchak:

[AZ] Mr. Mayor, you once supported Mikhail Gorbachev....

[Sobchak] Yes, but today I am chiefly a critic of Gorbachev, particularly of the position which he has taken in recent months, this position of strength. He is trying to preserve the CPSU's power at all costs. What we need today is a dialogue among all political forces. Therefore I support Yeltsin's proposal concerning a "roundtable," whose purpose could be the creation of a coalition government.

[AZ] But the problem arises here: Who will sit at this "roundtable?" For there is no developed system of parties in the democratic opposition.

[Sobchak] The biggest problem of our democratic movement is probably that it does not consist of serious parties. We are trying to change this situation. We would like to create a social democratic party out of the opposition.

[AZ] Ties are being strengthened in Russia between the striking miners and the democratic opposition. Do you see any possibility of creating a Russian "Solidarity?"

[Sobchak] This process has already begun; new independent trade unions have been created in our country, headed by young and dynamic leaders.

[AZ] People in many places are now demanding that Boris Yeltsin use all his authority to get the miners back to work. What do you think about this?

[Sobchak] This is impossible. It no longer depends on Yeltsin. Many miners can no longer feed their families. Strictly speaking, they are left with no choice but to continue the struggle. It is possible that the government will fail to cope with this problem. Strike committees are coming into being everywhere today. Tomorrow a strike committee could emerge at the all-union level and appeal for an uprising throughout the country. This would paralyze the country.

Appraisals of Yeltsin's France Visit Seen

PM2304154791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Apr 91 First Edition p 5

[Correspondent V. Bolshakov report: "In Strasbourg and Paris. On Yeltsin's Trip to France"]

[Text] Paris—The visit to France by B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, has ended. He was

here at the invitation of the public organization "International Political Forum." A French Foreign Ministry representative declared that his visit "was of a private and parliamentary nature."

The guest spent two days in Strasbourg, where he was received by the leaders of the European Parliament and the Council of Europe and those of the main parliamentary groups. In Paris he had brief meetings with L. Fabius, president of the French National Assembly, and F. Mitterrand, president of France.

At a news conference yesterday in Paris Yeltsin announced: "I consider that the main aims of the visit to Strasbourg and Paris which my trip set itself have been achieved. The visit showed that the basis of an opportunity for Russia's true integration into the European political, economic, and legal space is starting to take shape."

Such optimistic appraisals aroused some confusion among journalists invited to the news conference. The correspondent of Italian radio and television asked:

"You talk about success. But the European leaders said 'No' to your request in Strasbourg to establish direct relations between Russia and Europe."

Yeltsin replied: "I heard no such refusal from a single one of the European Parliament leaders or those of the European Parliament factions. The need to initiate contacts and dialogue was perceived everywhere with understanding. Even if for the time being contact remains at the level of the European Parliament commissions and Russian Supreme Soviet committee level."

Meanwhile—as previously reported by our paper—it was no secret to anyone here that the RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman got a fairly cool reception in the European Parliament. Thus, Enrique Baron Crespo, president of the European Parliament, rejected his claims to be an official guest of the European Parliament and of the president himself. Speaking on Europe 1 radio, Mr. Baron Crespo said that Yeltsin had not been invited officially but "was received after consultation at the European Parliament Bureau." Moreover, Baron Crespo declared that the European Parliament's sympathies are more on the side of Gorbachev's line anyway.

C. Lalumiere, secretary general of the Council of Europe, noted in talks with Yeltsin that it would be worth waiting for the results of the Union treaty talks before talking about establishing relations between the council and Russia: Relations with the RSFSR can only be established with due account of the fact that Russia is a part of the USSR. Yeltsin heard the same thing in the European Parliament. It is no surprise that he was refused the chance to deliver a speech he had prepared to the European Parliament as this right is offered to the USSR president alone.

Yeltsin read almost all of this speech to journalists at a news conference in Strasbourg. In general, as LE MONDE stresses, Yeltsin was led understand that he takes a back seat to Gorbachev in Strasbourg.

His clash with the deputy group in the European Parliament was "very sharp." Here I have to say that Yeltsin displayed greater restraint than his interlocutors, and indeed the group leader Jean-Pierre Cot actually showed him the door. If nothing else this was unworthy of a personage of such stature and an insult to each of the 150 million inhabitants of Russia, irrespective of whether or not they approve of Yeltsin's political views.

Neither the right-wing nor the left-wing press in France spoke too flatteringly of the visit. LE FIGARO wrote: "Like a child who collects autographs, Yeltsin spent the two days of his Alsace trip collecting handshakes." While LE MONDE said: Having run up against "a wall of misunderstanding," Yeltsin and his press agent "displayed ill manners, and what is more to such a degree that both forgot all forms of courtesy and revealed the true nature of the Soviet Communist apparatus."

By contrast with his earlier trips, Yeltsin was fairly reserved regarding his personal dispute with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev. Only yesterday at a news conference, replying to a jounalist's question on whether he believed that M.S. Gorbachev should leave the CPSU, he announced: "I am convinced that he must vacate the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He should have done it long ago, and his job would have been much easier. As for leaving the CPSU, that is a personal matter for each individual."

Journalists were surprised by Yeltsin's answers to questions from representatives of the reactionary emigre press. Take for example his answer to a question by Boris Miller, chairman of the POSSEV publishing house in Paris, on whether he, Miller, could "return to Russia": "Right now the Russian Parliament is examining a law on dual citizenship which will provide the opportunity for those living in another country to move to Russia freely and have all the corresponding rights accorded to a Russian citizen. We particularly invite people of intellectual standing."

Apart from that invitation to "intellectuals" from POSSEV, which has long been linked with Western secret services, Yeltsin evaluated most highly the subversive activities of Radio Liberty.

"I would say that Russians receive more honest information on the Russian Supreme Soviet and its leadership and on the Russian Government through Radio Liberty than through our own media. By the way, this station imparts information quite objectively and quite fully. And in general I will say that we are grateful to them. It is like a branch of Russian radio."

The journalists from the emigre papers applauded Yeltsin's answer to a question from the paper RUSSKAYA MYSL on relations between the Russian Federation leadership and the KGB. "There is a lot of trouble with this organization. Not only with regard to

'bugging.' We decided that as far as Russian territory is concerned this committee should be placed under Russia's jurisdiction and be subordinate to the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, so that all the USSR KGB organs will be subordinate to a committee of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. This committee will not be called the KGB but the Committee for Russian Security, and its functions will be seriously altered. Its main task will be to defend human rights."

Yeltsin's meetings with representatives of France's various political parties and social organizations and state figures were nevertheless useful, in my opinion, as they allowed everybody who met the RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman to get a clearer picture of his views and aspirations. Claude Cheysson, former foreign minister in the socialist government and a deputy in the European Parliament, said he was disappointed with the inability of a major Russian personage to understand those questions which he put to him. Claude Cheysson noted: Yeltsin must travel more in order to understand the European reality, for as yet "he does not realize that he does not understand international problems...."

Not everybody in France shares such sharp assessments. There is unquestionably an interest in the processes under way in the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation. That the Russian leadership's desire to conduct its own foreign policy is being perceived with great alarm as an indication of the disintegration tendencies in the Soviet Union is another matter. For this reason it was stressed in Strasbourg and in Paris that France is ready to do business with Russia only on condition that it remains a part of the Soviet Union and does not break away from it.

Prokofyev Urges Action at Moscow Gorkom Plenum

LD2304195591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Those taking part in the Moscow City CPSU Committee held in Moscow today called for effective measures to be taken to stabilize the situation in society and to bring the country out of the crisis. The situation is extreme, and it demands appropriate and decisive action by the country's leadership, the report on the current situation by Prokofyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Moscow City CPSU Committee, pointed out. A declaration by the plenum expressed demands for a detailed and well-considered examination of the government's anti-crisis program at the CPSU plenum, which opens tomorrow.

Silayev on Relations Between Center, RSFSR

PM2404134291 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 13, 31 Mar-7 Apr 91 p 7

[Interview with RSFSR Prime Minister Ivan Silayev by Lyudmila Telen; date, place not given; first paragraph is Silayev quote: "What Is the Centre Without Russia?"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] "We have offered our own programme of action intended to consolidate all of society's forces. Who will benefit if Russia is ruined and loses its economic might? Will it be the Centre? But it's self-evident that without a strong Russia there will be no strong Union, there will be no Union at all. By undermining the Russian Federation's economic health with its actions the central government signs the verdict on itself as well."

Q: How do you assess the economic part of the draft Union Treaty? Does it provide a foundation for the equitable cooperation you pin your hopes on?

A: Yes, it does, although this foundation is still not firm enough, and serious efforts will be required, I believe, to work up the economic articles of the Treaty. We count on our own resources—to this day we do not have them at our disposal. We want to rely on our own foreign economic activities—we haven't even this possibility...

Q: The Union Treaty is a matter for the future. You, however, will have to deal with the existing Union Cabinet of Ministers, which still possesses powers incomparable with those of the Republics. To what extent is Prime Minister Pavlov's course consistent with Russia's plans?

A: The point is that the new union government's programme has still not been announced. One can only guess about its intentions. But the key factor, as I see it, will not be the programme as such. Most likely, it will be the pressing need to keep in step with the intentions of republican governments.

Q: What are your personal relations with Valentin Pavlov? Can it be hoped that you will find a common language?

A: I think so. Although I can't say that I am sure of this, that I have no doubts whatsoever... What's most important, perhaps, is this: we do not see each other as enemies and do not take a biased attitude towards each other. Despite the new Premier's rigid stance and the dissimilarity of the initial steps taken by him, it is possible, I believe, to have a dialogue with him. The most important thing is to be guided by logic and common sense. I am sure, reasonable people will always be able to find mutually acceptable variants.

Q: Relations between Russia and the Centre have never before, perhaps, been as tense as they are now. However, even in more favourable conditions productive cooperation did not come about—witness the story with the 500-Day Programme. What is your optimism based on, besides faith in common sense?

A: Much has changed during the six months which have elapsed since the discussion of the Shatalin-Yavlinskiy programme. I'm not talking about the menacing scope of the economic crisis. There have been positive changes, too. First and foremost, as regards the attitudes of the sovereign republics. Whatever seemed impossible only

yesterday, the principles which were called separatist, have now been recognized by the Centre and many of them have already been written into the draft Union Treaty. The central government has satisfied itself that the Republics amount to a force which it is impossible not to reckon with.

Q: Did you have an opportunity to convince yourself of the Republics' serious influence on the Centre's economic policy?

A: Yes, I did—during the recent discussion of the agreement on prices. We had many objections in principle—on more than ten points. At first, of course, there was strong resistance, but we didn't retreat, and later nearly all the differences were resolved. In the end, everything was worked out literally within a few hours. I believe that the central government understood we were guided not by ambition, but by the interests of the Republic, and that we would stand up for this.

Q: Do you intend to offer your programme again, for the Republics, too?

A: No, this time it's a strictly Russian programme. But I want to stress that it doesn't amount to renouncing the principles proclaimed in the 500-day programme. For example, it makes provision for actively promoting entrepreneurship. In particular, it has been suggested to make the assets of enterprises directed into the development of production exempt from taxes, and also to provide favourable conditions for foreign investors. In agriculture the accent is on the development of leaseholding and especially private farming. I would call the new document a plan of concrete action with the help of which we shall try to implement the radical ideas of the market in the framework of the Republic?

Q: What path will Russia follow?

A: You recalled Mikhail Maley's recently published programme, didn't you? I must say that his programme is not the basis for the one to be submitted to the Congress. Our variant makes no provision for the establishment of a Russian Republic in the RSFSR, the introduction of our own currency, or even the renunciation of money circulation in cash as Maley suggested. I think the new programme holds no special surprises for Russia's deputies, for the other Republics or for the Centre. It is the same vigorous advance towards the market, as declared in the 500-day Programme.

Silayev Meets With U.S. Legislators

LD2404085191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2123 GMT 23 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Pavel Vanichkin]

[Text] Washington, 24 Apr (TASS)—Ivan Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, who is in the United States, had a meeting at the U.S. Congress on Tuesday with Thomas Foley, speaker of the House of Representatives, George Mitchell and Robert Dole, the leaders of the Democratic and Republican Parties in the Senate, and Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

During a news conference held afterwards at the National Press Club, the head of the Russian Government stated that the Washington part of his visit to the United States had ended with "positive results." "We set ourselves two tasks," I.Silayev said. "First, to brief administration officials and the leadership of Congress on the Russian Government's foreign and domestic policy. Second, to open a new page in relations between the Russian Federation and the United States and individual American states. In the main, the Russian leadership's foreign policy coincides with the basic foreign policy approaches of the USSR and its president. Naturally, we also take account of the specific interests of the Russian Federation. I think that it will not be possible in the future for the main foreign policy actions of the center which affect Russia's interests to be tackled without our participation. We hope for such participation and are counting on it."

Dwelling on the economic situation in the Soviet Union, I.Silayev noted "the complexity, contradictory nature, and acuteness of the undergoing processes and the continuing deterioration of the situation in the country, including Russia." In this connection with it, the head of the RSFSR Government stressed the necessity for Russia and other republics to gain economic sovereignty and, in particular, sovereignty in foreign trade.

Reporting that he had acquainted representatives of the administration and the leadership of the U.S. Congress with the main points of the program for stabilizing the economy and changing over to market relations in the RSFSR, and explaining the approaches and views of the Russian Government on the economic reform which is being implemented in the country, I.Silayev said: "The Russian Federation does not intend to secede from the USSR, but it advocates entirely different principles and mutual relations within a new Union. It is a question of the maximum economic sovereignty of the republics that make it up. In effect, this should be a union of sovereign states with a maximum degree of economic independence. We feel that we were understood by our interlocutors. To a certain degree we felt a positive assessment of our intentions."

Concluding his speech, I. Silayev reported that numerous meetings with the leadership of a number of states and representatives of U.S. business circles have been planned for the second part of the visit.

On the same day the Russian delegation, headed by the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, flew to San Francisco. It will also visit the cities of Los Angeles and New York.

Polozkov on RSFSR Congress, Rutskoy's Group

PM2404141991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

["Topical Interview" with I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, by TASS correspondent; date, place not given: "I. Polozkov: 'They Have Failed To Depict Us As Political Adventurists'"]

[Text] The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist republic] Supreme Soviet resumed work 18 April. I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, answered a TASS correspondent's questions about the situation in the Russian legislature and the Communist faction's tactics in it.

[PRAVDA] How do you assess the results of the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies and its main decisions? To what extent did your personal forecasts about the possible development of events at the congress come true?

[Polozkov] On the whole, I am positive in my assessment of the results of the congress. As those who convened it had hoped, it examined the political and socioeconomic position in the republic, which is sliding increasingly toward disaster with every passing day. The causes of the deepening processes of the collapse of the Union and the republics were revealed, and the preconditions were created for stabilizing the situation. A congress resolution outlining measures to emerge from the crisis was adopted, and we vigorously ensured that this resolution was realistic, businesslike, and workable. You will agree that this is quite a lot.

In short, the congress was not in vain. It drew attention to the disastrous position in which Russia finds itself and criticized the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers for their extremely poor leadership of the republic's economy. In their speeches the group of Supreme Soviet Presidium members revealed a mass of shortcomings in the organization of the work of the Supreme Soviet, the government, and their leaders. The congress gave the republic's leaders extra powers, as they had wanted, in order to prevent a collapse of economic ties and to stabilize the political situation within the framework of constitutional measures. Unfortunately, Russia's leaders are in no hurry to keep their promise—to try to reach agreement with the miners and halt the strike, which is catastrophically exacerbating the collapse of our already ruined national economy.

Yes, the congress was sharp, but political struggle is political struggle. And everyone conducts it as best they can. By no means all the actions could be called legislative or even gentlemanly. There were violations of procedure and attempts to "force through" certain decisions—this was repeatedly mentioned by people's deputies. There were also flagrant violations of standing orders, previously adopted laws, and even the Constitution. But even here the proverb that people do not wave their fists after a fight proved true.

The congress helped us get a clearer idea about who's who. We saw for ourselves that the work of deputies advocating the socialist choice could be more effective.

As for my forecasts, in such cases various versions of the development of events are usually taken into account. We could have done some things better, we made gains we had not particularly expected in some areas. But, on the whole, society is satisfied with the results of the congress, and this means that we can be satisfied with them, too. However, we need to prepare ourselves better for the next congress.

[PRAVDA] How do you assess the behavior at the congress of the "Communists of Russia" bloc, which, as some of the mass media put it, "tried to convene a congress for the purpose of removing B.N. Yeltsin?"

[Polozkov] First, I should make it clear straightaway that the congress was not initiated solely by the "Communists of Russia." Unfortunately, some of the mass media spread rumors that the RSFSR Communist Party leadership wanted to remove B.N. Yeltsin. I have already repeatedly had to explain our approach. Communists saw their task as being to promote the elaboration of a correct and effective line of action able to extricate the republic from the crisis. It was from this standpoint that they approached the assessment of B.N. Yeltsin's report and the analysis of the work done by the Supreme Soviet leadership and the submitted draft documents. Naturally, they did not restrict themselves to analysis, they also put forward their own alternative proposals. I would recall, above all, the specific program for solving the crisis elaborated by the group of Communist deputies headed by Yu.M. Voronin. They also proposed drafts of many other documents and amendments. Unfortunately, their voice was not always heeded. On the whole, however, it can be said that the Communists made a great contribution to ensuring that the decisions adopted were quite constructive and could serve as a good basis for activity aimed at stabilizing the situation in society.

It is another matter that some people may have hoped that the arguments which broke out at the congress would inflame passions to such an extent that it would be possible to portray in a disadvantageous light not so much the position of Yeltsin (who can only gain in such situations) as the position of Russian Communists. They hoped that the "Communists of Russia" could subsequently be depicted as political adventurists and that this entire episode could be used to damage the party's reputation and skillfully bring to the fore those who have long wanted to pose as a "front-ranking" and "progressive" force and who would like to replace the values held by our society with other, alien values.

All these circumstances explained my speech at the congress, which came as a surprise to many.

[PRAVDA] Did the creation of the "Communists for Democracy" deputies group at the congress come as a surprise to you? Have you had any contact with A.V. Rutskoy and his supporters since then?

[Polozkov] It is no secret that people have been trying to encourage certain Communist RSFSR people's deputies to take up special positions. This was clearly visible in connection with the maneuvers over the "Democratic Platform" within the CPSU and other attempts to shake party unity. What was unexpected was that people such as the former Communist Sheynis and the nonparty Starovoytova got openly involved in it. The latter is known for her anticommunist, abolitionist [likvidatorskiy] views, which she reiterated recently in a speech at an international congress in the Netherlands. It was these people who staged the first organizational conferences to cobble together the "Communists for Democracy" group.

I was in touch with A.V. Rutskoy not so long ago. A few hours before he took the congress rostrum to report on the creation of the "Communists for Democracy" group, I met with him twice but he said nothing about his intentions. We invited A.V. Rutskoy to the Central Committee for a chat. Unfortunately, he did not turn up for some reason. But we hope to have meetings with him.

[PRAVDA] The authors of the statement to the country's Communists conclude that your arrival in the RSFSR Communist Party leadership is linked to the "retreat from the 28th CPSU Congress decisions." What can you say about that?

[Polozkov] We are clearly following the 28th congress decisions and have given nobody any reason to doubt that. The fact that there are forces which would like to overturn the congress' main ideas—the reaffirmation of faith in the socialist choice and the Communist future—is another matter. The main obstacle in the way of these forces is the position of the RSFSR Communist Party—that is why they are trying to accuse it of everything under the sun, not least of retreating from the 28th congress line. Take a close look at our documents. You will not find a single provision in them which runs counter to the positions of the 28th CPSU Congress.

[PRAVDA] Do you agree that the "Communists for Democracy" are being called the "democratic platform" in the RSFSR Communist Party?

[Polozkov] Somebody aptly noted that the name "Communists for Democracy" brings to mind the formula "the economy should be economical." Democracy is an inalienable principle of the policy and ideology of the communist movement—this is clear to everyone.

Let us look into what "Communists for Democracy" actually are. In my opinion, they themselves are not entirely clear about it. Initially they announced that the group had 170 members. It later transpired that they had less than 100. Most of their members are also members of other groups (there are 27 such groups, as is well known) including (and above all) "Democratic Russia." If it is agreed that each deputy can only be part of one faction, then it will be hard to say at all just how big it is. An attempt was made to depict the creation of the new faction as a defeat for the "Communists of Russia" group, which has 350 members. But it transpired that, of its 11 members which switched to the new faction, 10 took virtually no part in its work for a year, and some were signed up without their consent.

In other words, this entire episode of the new faction should be seen as another attempt to sow confusion in Communist ranks and produce a split in the party. In this sense the "Communists for Democracy" group is similar to the "Democratic Platform."

[PRAVDA] In one interview A.V. Rutskoy said that you were one of the supporters of his being included in the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee. Have you now changed your opinion of him?

[Polozkov] Indeed, I (and at that time there were simply no other Central Committee leaders) once discussed this matter with A.V. Rutskoy during the preparations for the second stage of the RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress. Of course, I did not think at the time that this military officer would become an instrument of political struggle against the Russian Communist Party.

[PRAVDA] Are you planning to hold an RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee plenum in the near future to examine the personal files of A.V. Rutskoy and his followers?

[Polozkov] Our party's Central Committee Politburo is not raising the question of convening a special plenum to examine the personal files of A.V. Rutskoy and others. Although it must be said that the task of strengthening the unity of party ranks is now urgent and will undoubtedly be discussed at a forthcoming Central Committee plenum. We would like Communists who have been misled by politicos to thoroughly look at their convictions and make their final decision quickly. That will be more honest so far as both they themselves and the party are concerned.

Leningrad Oblast Communists Hit Anticrisis Plan

PM2404141791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Plenum Held"]

[Text] Leningrad, 19 Apr—It does not meet the interests of the majority—that is the leitmotiv of the Leningrad CPSU Oblast Committee [obkom] plenum resolution on the USSR Cabinet of Ministers draft action program to resolve the country's economic crisis.

It was noted that the government's draft anticrisis program is a concept rather than a well devised action program. The majority of speakers agreed that the implementation of the program will lead to an abrupt fall in

the living standard, the impoverishment of the population, and the differentiation of society along property lines.

Vladimir Plenum on Politico-Economic Situation

PM2404085791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Apr 91 First Edition p 2

[L. Gladysheva report: "Backing Leningraders"]

[Text] Vladimir—The generally calm tone of the report on the current situation and the progress of implementation of the 28th CPSU Congress decisions delivered by V.A. Zakharov, first secretary of the Vladimir Party Obkom [oblast committee], evoked a sharp reaction. Members of the party obkom spoke with alarm and pain about the prevailing political and economic situation in the country and the thrust of the price reform, which is directed against the people and has triggered a catastrophic deterioration of their living standards, and they put forward specific measures to stabilize the economy. Communists of the "Signal" carpet organization addressed an open letter to the CPSU Central Committee and the oblast's party membership.

In its resolution the party obkom plenum supports the Leningrad Communists' call for civic unity to save the Fatherland.

'Dangerous Confrontation' in N. Ossetia Noted

PM2404103591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Apr 91 First Edition p 3

[A. Grachev report: "Why an Armed Conflict Flared Up on the Territory of Prigorodnyy Rayon in North Ossetia"]

[Text] North Ossetian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]—The reason for the sharp exacerbation in the situation here is the fact that in March of this year Article 2 of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree dated 16 July 1956 "On the Removal of Restrictions on the Special Settlement of Chechen, Ingush, and Karachay and Members of Their Families Resettled During the Great Patriotic War" has been repealed. Certain representatives of the Ingush population perceived and interpreted the repeal of the article the wrong way, that is, they saw it as the return of houses and lands previously belonging to them.

According to data from the republic prosecutor's office, six cases of attempts to seize houses and lands were recorded in the settlements of Kurtat, Chermen, and Kambileyevskoye. This was the reason for the conflict that flared up. First there was an ordinary quarrel, then a fight which grew into an armed clash. There were injuries on both the Ingush side and the Ossetian side. Militiamen in particular were injured. R. Salatov, state motor vehicle inspector at the republic MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], died in the hospital from a firearm wound. A total of 14 criminal proceedings have been instituted....

As the conflict started quickly growing and drawing into its horrible web not just dozens, but hundreds of people, a state of emergency with a curfew was introduced on the territory of Prigorodnyy Rayon and a state of emergency was also introduced in the city of Vladikavkaz in North Ossetia, which will continue until 19 May.

The situation here has now stabilized, although last night shots were heard again.

An RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] MVD task force arrived in North Ossetia. This assistance is simply vital now in order to completely quell the conflict. But, as often happens in our country, there was a lack of coordination: The 1,588 people who arrived are doing nothing because... no order has been given to use these people to enforce the state of emergency and curfew! All this at a time when local militia staffers are literally dropping with exhaustion....

So that is how it is. Misfortune has moved from South Ossetia to North Ossetia. One thing is difficult to fathom: After all it is so difficult for us to survive on rations.... But instead of improving things in the economy and somehow improving our material situation, we are attacking one another with weapons in hand!

The council of elders of the Ingush people was always distinguished by its wisdom, restraint, and love of peace. I would hope that it will now act in the same way in order to put an end to the dangerous confrontation.

'Democratic Russia' Meets With Miners

91UN1345A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Apr 91 First Edition p 2

[Article by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent V. Deryagin: "Do Not Work Together With Us"]

[Text] Perm—The Perm organization of the "Democratic Russia" movement held a meeting with A.V. Semenov, a NASHA GAZETA correspondent from the Kuzbass, and representatives of the striking mines from Chelyabinsk and Perm Oblasts. But actually what was taking place was a planned agitation action with specific objectives. The labor collectives of Perm and the oblast, in the opinion of "Democratic Russia," must support the political demands of the miners, up to and including the declaration of strikes of solidarity.

It cannot be said that the NASHA GAZETA employee said anything new about the situation in the Kuzbass. He tried to convince everyone that the central press and television were incorrectly informing readers about matters in the region. But he did not cite any specific facts. He threatened that the Siberian miners were ready to

confront the troops. But it remained unclear whom he was threatening and why. And what kind of troops he was talking about?

However, as the organizers of the meeting eagerly explained afterward, one of the objectives of Aleksandr Vasilyevich's trip was to try his luck at getting paper at the Kama area paper combines for his publication. The Kuzbass guest apparently prepared himself better for the administrative part of his official trip. But on what kind of paper does he intend "to clarify thoroughly" the miners' strike, if their example, at his appeal, is followed by lumbermen and paper mill workers?

The representatives of the miners also spoke in a contradictory way. No matter what you do, the economic problems of the miners collectives come to the foreground. A sensible dialogue with the government seemingly could be arranged at a meeting in the Kremlin—it is the only way to get out of the crisis situation. Alas, the change from economic to political demands, on which the leaders of the strike committees insisted, leaves almost no opportunity for dialogue here.

Is this not the reason why mine tunneler G.I. Dolgov from Krasnogorsk in Chelyabinsk Oblast seemed to be asking the advice of the assembled supporters of "Democratic Russia": How are his comrades to behave? As a strike measure, they are not unloading coal at the South Urals GRES [state rayon electric power station]—up to 100,000 tons of coal have piled up in the dump area. Before you know it, it will catch fire. Will all of the difficult work of the mining crews be in vain?

Yu.Yu. Yuryev, chairman of the strike committee of the Shumikhinskaya mine of the Kizelugol association in Perm Oblast, also talked about the economy. Incidentally, the Kizel strike committee did not approve the strike at the Shumikhinskaya, and the remaining 13 mines in the basin did not stop mining. But the social and production problems of the country's oldest Kizel coal basin are no less difficult than in the Kuzbass and the Donbass. The quality of the Kizel coal with a large sulfur content, the deposits of sharply falling and narrow layers, the concentration of methane, oil, and volume of output, for which it is impossible to use productive equipment, compel one to think about and calculate whether to invest resources in the coal-mining industry of the oblast, or whether it is economically more feasible to close the mines down; to establish in their place the production of commodities and machines, and to open enterprises for processing mine slag where, as specialists claim, there are transuranium elements, rare earth metals, gold, platinum, and iron pyrites.

But the participants in the meeting did not discuss the problems of the region and ways of getting out of the crisis. That is not why they gathered.

Speakers brought in from outside immediately followed the guests who spoke. An invalid woman, who was brought up to the microphone, read sentences from a paper of text that could have been taken from any current anticommunist newspaper, and gave the strikers 50 rubles. The organizers brought the infirm individual to the meeting by car. But she left on foot supported by crutches. No one noticed this. Is this what we have come to?

Another "representative of the people" who went to the rostrum had tarpaulin boots. He came from a village. He gave the miners less money, but, on the other hand, he spoke louder. He turned out to be very offended by the Communist Party. Especially because in the 1960's, as it is fashionable to say, he was sent to places that were not that remote. For what? It is unimportant. Nowadays, no matter what criminal you ask, each one claims that he was a victim of the social system, and if there were no party apparatus, they say, nobody would rob, steal, or murder....

L.D. Kuznetsov, deputy chairman of the Perm city organization of the Democratic Party of Russia, was also imprisoned, as he himself explained, for refusal to serve in the army. He has this dream:

"If the oil workers also rise up, then...."

I wanted to understand the logic of these people. Let us assume that it will be possible to overthrow the existing government by means of an unconstitutional strike. In what way will any other governmental cabinet created according to any democratic principle suddenly bring benefits to the miners and lead the country out of the crisis?

This, in fact, is what the presidium of the meeting was asked by V.G. Yuminov, a deputy of the oblast soviet and a senior foreman in an instrument-building association. Valentin Grigoryevich was also surprised by the information that food coupons in the Kizel mine have less weight than in Perm. He asked for confirmation of this and, if it is so, to raise the question at a session of the oblast soviet.

Why reasonable questions evoked a storm of indignation and insulting shouts can only be guessed. Yuminov was accused on the spot of sympathy for the party apparatus and of "having his finger in the party pie." Honest to God, I felt sorry for the man. He came to the meeting with the best of feelings, and because of his efforts in the instrument-building association more than 1,000 rubles was collected and submitted to the miners' strike fund....

It was sad to see the embittered and blinded people. They have taken a stupefying program into their heads and are knocking it into others: The worse, the better; let the plants, mines, and railroads rise up. And this will save the country?

'Democratic Russia' Group Officially Registers

LD2404204491 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 24 TASS—The Russian Ministry of Justice on Wednesday officially registered the republic's public and political movement "Democratic Russia".

The movement, supported by millions of people in Russia, has branches practically in all big Russian cities and exerts tangible influence on the political life in the republic.

It has a sizable faction in the Russian parliament, which actively supports the policy of the republic's leadership and its president, Boris Yeltsin, and acts in opposition to the parliamentary group "Communists of Russia".

The second congress of the movement scheduled for the beginning of June will set the movement's immediate tasks.

Progressive, Patriotic Soldiers Union To Be Set Up

PM2404160991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Vladimir Nevelskiy: "'Russian All-Soldiers Union' Being Created"]

[Text] Leningrad—Representatives of a number of independent associations of Leningrad servicemen have adopted a decision to form a social organization called the "Russian All-Soldiers Union." Its organizing committee has been created.

The new organization considers its main aim to be the unification of progressive, patriotic forces in conditions of the growing instability in society. The "Russian All-Soldiers Union" intends to focus its efforts on resolving such urgent tasks as strengthening the Armed Forces' prestige and their unity with the people, the struggle to safeguard the rights of servicemen, reservists, and members of their families, the revival of patriotic traditions and citizens' confidence in the army and navy, participation in strengthening Russia's sovereignty, and freeing the Armed Forces from all party diktat.

The All-Soldiers Union organizing committee hopes for support and help from people's deputies of the USSR, Russia, and Leningrad City and Oblast, social organizations, enterprises, and individuals.

Moscow 'City Fathers' Seeking Municipal Militia

PM2304115991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1

[Correspondent report: "Will There Be One Militia in Moscow?"]

[Text] A two-hour meeting of Moscow City Soviet Chairman G. Popov and Moscow Gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee] leader Yu. Luzhkov with the city militia's leadership took place 19 April.

The appointment of a new Moscow Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Main Administration chief by order of the USSR minister of internal affairs had been announced the day before—Militia Major General N. Myrikov, who has worked for a long time at No. 38 Petrovka, has been appointed,. Maybe this will put an end to the protracted confrontation between Moscow City Soviet and the Union ministry?

In any case the "city fathers," while giving the general's personal qualities and high professionalism their due, continued at the meeting to staunchly defend their own viewpoint—the capital's authorities must have at their disposal their own militia in order to effectively stand guard over law and order in these uneasy times. The IZVESTIYA correspondent reports that one possibility put forward is to form in addition a municipal militia in Moscow.

RSFSR Aide Cited on Russian Aspect of Tokyo Talks

PM1904140391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Apr 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by special correspondents Captain First Rank V. Kuzar and Colonel D. Getmanenko: "Storm in Tokyo...."]

[Excerpts] Tokyo, 18 Apr—It is a rather hackneyed journalistic ploy to link political clashes with the caprices of the weather. Nevertheless, in the present situation such comparisons simply suggest themselves. Judge for yourselves, for the wind got up in Tokyo toward evening on Wednesday, and a storm raged that night.

Something similar also happened around the top-level Soviet-Japanese talks. Addressing the Japanese parliament, M.S. Gorbachev said that the results of the talks and the joint documents would demonstrate that Moscow and Tokyo are taking a decisive step toward attaining mutual understanding and finally settling the problems left by the war, including the most difficult one of territorial demarcation. It was these last words that caused a real storm in the Japanese capital. Journalists literally besieged V. Ignatenko, leader of the president's press service, in an attempt to ascertain what lay behind the term "territorial demarcation." One after another on the television screens, commentators and politicians started saying that the sides had approached what is, in their opinion, the chief question. It seems that M.S. Gorbachev and T. Kaifu discussed it, this question, when conversing one on one.

At any rate, Japanese Foreign Ministry specialists were forced to work all night under truly storm conditions, as a Japanese colleague put it, on the 40th floor of the new Otani Hotel. I believe advisers to the official USSR delegation spent an equally restless night. The result was that an additional, fifth round of top-level talks, as well as the previously proposed extra fourth round, was needed to bring together what had been worked out. [passage omitted]

The words "for the first time" have already appeared repeatedly in reports devoted to this visit. Here is another detail of equal importance for both our domestic and our foreign policy. For the first time the official USSR delegation included representatives of a Union

republic: B. Isayev, deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet; V. Lukin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee; and RSFSR Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev. I asked the latter to comment on this fact.

"Our participation in the official USSR delegation," Kozyrev said, "is, in my view, the first evidence that we are moving toward normal cooperation between the center and the republics. The Soviet delegation logically includes representatives of Russia, which has a very direct interest in the development of all-around ties with Japan. It is important to emphasize that we began preparing for the visit in advance. High-level experts from both the USSR Foreign Ministry and the RSFSR Foreign Ministry were involved. A joint position was elaborated as a result. It is fundamentally different from the old one, which did not recognize the existence of problems in relations with Japan. The national state interests of Russia and the Union are now regarded as of paramount importance. This is the internal political aspect, so to speak, of our participation in the talks. There is also an external aspect. In particular, this composition of the delegation has enabled Japan to avoid the absurd situation whereby it does not know with whom to do business. Finally, it rules out the possibility that those who would like to play the corresponding card could enrich themselves at the expense of the Union and Russia."

...And so, talks still lie ahead, after which the sides will have to sign the final documents. Will anything in their positions change? Let us wait and see.

Western Republics

Belorussian Supreme Soviet Not Convened

LD2404211291 Moscow TASS in English 2038 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] Minsk April 24 TASS—"The presidium of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet did not put to vote the question of convening an extraordinary session of the republican parliament," First Deputy Chairman of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet Stanislav Shushkevich told TASS. He made this statement after a meeting of the presidium of the republican parliament.

"We have expressed our view on this question three days ago and are not going to change it," Shushkevich said.

Journalists were told at a briefing that the meeting of the presidium was attended by heads of law-enforcement agencies, the procurator's office, and the state security committee. Asked if this means banning a rally planned on Lenin square in Minsk on Thursday, a spokesman replied that "nobody authorized it."

Members of the presidium stressed that any changes in the laws of the republic may be introduced only in a civilised, constitutional way. Strikers, for example, demand recognition of the right to sell and buy land into private ownership. This question was already discussed at a parliament session and most deputies voted against it. In this situation it will make more sense to try and find out what the entire Belorussian population thinks about it and not only parliamentarians. However, there is no law on referendum in Belorussia.

Asked if central authorities would impose a state of emergency in Belorussia, Shushkevich said that it was impossible without notifying the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the republic.

Minsk Strike Rallies Continue in Lenin Square

Railway Blockade Instituted

LD2404192391 Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian 1725 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] [Reporter] Everybody was in the [Lenin] square in Minsk, rallying, putting forward economic and political demands, until 1700, when the militia arrived. The chief of the two militia departments announced that there should be no extremist actions.

It was all about blocking the railway and not letting trains through, no matter what direction they were going. At the beginning, the strike committee set the time for 1530, then it kept being postponed, until at last at 1700 a number of young people were selected who formed a line to block the railway. All the rest were ordered to stay where they were, and the drunks were told to leave and not participate in the strike. By the way, this action had started at a number of enterprises. It was decided right there, at the rally, to keep the railway blocked until 2000 and then to go home calmly. Until exactly 2000 everybody stood there, and so did the trains, but the blockade was purely symbolic, as the only passengers on local and some truck routes suffered; the rest took a detour.

It was agreed that the railway blockade will start again tomorrow, if the negotiations with the representatives of the Orsha strike committee in the Belorussia Supreme Soviet are unsuccessful.

And now here is one of the co-chairmen of the strike committee:

[Co-chairman] We expected yesterday that information would come from Minsk about our demands having been satisfied, but it never came and that is why all the people who gathered at the rally decided to go to the railway station to block the junction. We telephoned the presidium of the Supreme Soviet and warned them that we would still await a satisfactory answer and that is why we would not start the blockade right away. But we do not yet have the answer.

[Reporter] Meanwhile, the rally has continued in Lenin Square. Petr Sadovskiy, Belorussian Supreme Soviet Presidium member and chairman of the International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations Commission,

climbed the rostrum. Today, it is already obvious, he said, that urgent decisions on political problems and convocation of an extraordinary session are necessary. In my belief, he continued, a situation has developed when measures appropriate for a state of emergency, must be taken. A roundtable with the participation of economists, representatives of the political parties, and all the state structures is needed. But the majority of the members of the republic's Supreme Soviet presidium have different ideas on convening an extraordinary session.

The rally in the square near the government building ended at 1500. Its participants spoke for continuation of the strike. During the rally, it became known that the strike committee of the Minsk motor vehicle works does not support that proposal.

At the same time, the sitting of the presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet started.

Strikers 'Insist' on Meeting Shushkevich

LD2404122491 Moscow TASS in English 1103 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] Minsk April 24 TASS—Lenin Square—the largest square in the Belorussian capital—was again crowded with strikers by 11:00 today in response to Tuesday's call by the Minsk city strike committee to rally in the square awaiting a reply from the Belorussian parliament.

The strikers' main demands remain the same: to departyise the army, the KGB, law enforcement agencies and other state structures and to remove Soviet and Belorussian Communist Party committees from enterprises.

The strikers vehemently demand convening an extraordinary session of the republican parliament. Economic demands, some of which were satisfied by the republican government, seem to have receded into the background.

Workers at Europe's largest producer of potassium fertilisers—the Belaruskaliy Production Amalgamation—remain on strike and the assembly of the Soviet Union's highest-powered dumper trucks at Zhodino has been brought to a standstill.

Workers in Brest, Grodno, Mogilev and other cities, aware that the strike does a tremendous damage to the republic's and the country's economy, held meetings either after hours or in between shifts. A meeting of many thousands of workers took place in Gomel after hours. Those present stated their support for demands put forward in Minsk.

Leaders of the Minsk strike committee held a news conference late on Tuesday night. Asked about an exit from the standoff, Belorussian People's Deputy Sergey Antonchik, co-chairman of the strike committee said "people's deputies from the opposition and from the Democratic Club should withdraw from parliament and form a parallel government of popular accord."

People who gathered on Lenin Square demanded that chairman of republican parliament Nikolay Dementey come over to them. An announcement that he fell ill and is now in hospital did not sooth passions.

Strikers now insist on meeting with parliament Deputy Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich, who is presiding over a meeting of the parliament's Presidium to discuss the situation in the republic.

Belorussian Official Views 'Complex Situation'

LD2404102691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0600 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, 14 Apr (TASS)—If the strike wave had failed to happen at the start of April then it would have happened at the end of the month in connection with the sad anniversary of the Chernobyl tragedy. The severity of price reforms served to speed things up, in the view of Anatoliy Malofeyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee. There is no point in seeking any special factors in the republic which have caused the unrest. The factors are common to the whole country. We are in a single economic zone. And all that happens in the country happens sooner or later in our republic, he said in an interview published in RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA today analyzing the complex situation in the republic.

In the opinion of the Belorussian leader the republic is still holding on so far. There has been no fall in production volumes and there is milk and meat in the shops. There still is. But living standards have deteriorated in recent years. The consumer market has been wrecked and people's patience has run out. Then there is the fact that despite statements from the country's leaders claiming that retail prices would rise by between 1.6-1.7 times on average, on 2 April the prices for some goods and foodstuffs tripled and in some cases quadrupled. That was the last straw that broke the camel's back and caused the wave of strikes.

Any discontentment felt by the people, any deterioration in their material situation—everything is used to destabilize the political situation in our region, too. It looks as though some people do not like the fact that Belorussia has not yet suffered the breakdown experienced in other parts of the country. So it needs "help." Emissaries arrive from the miners, the Baltic [status], and Moscow as well as other centers where there is tension. Our own people's front and democrats have stepped up their activity. Everything is being done to push the republic into the abyss of a long political strike. They do not stop to think how to emerge from it afterwards.

Speaking of the political situation in Belorussia the party leader noted: People who use the workers' movement to try to achieve their political aims make it a condition that Communists should not be allowed among them. That is so that nobody can prevent them from pursuing their policy. That is the case at the tractor, vehicle, and

other works. It is by no mere chance that strike committees are demanding that primary Communist Party organizations be removed from enterprises. Furthermore, not one informal movement and not one new party wants to take the responsibility and show concern for people's vital needs. The main thing as far as they are concerned is to aggravate the situation, to whip up tension, and sometimes go to the extreme of blaming communists for everything.

But people must not exploit the difficult situation now facing society and play their political cards. Prices are a different matter. Prices for some goods should not have gone up so much. There should have been more thought about this, in Anatoliy Malofeyev's opinion.

Ukraine Strike Committee Plans Republic-Wide Action

LD2404213891 Moscow TASS in English 2124 GMT 24 Apr 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Stanislav Volnyanskiy]

[Text] Kiev April 24 TASS—The Ukrainian strike committee is preparing an all-Ukrainian political strike, representatives of parliamentary opposition movements Rukh and people's Rada told a news conference here today.

Although Bogdan Ternopilskiy, deputy chairman of the Rukh's political council, said the action "was not ripe", preparations are made in order to "force the government and the parliament of the republic, on behalf of the people, to translate into reality the desire of the masses for genuine independence".

According to Igor Shvets, member of the republican strike committee, miners, who laid down tools one month and a half ago, continue their strike. However, Shvets said, "They stop striking in an organised fashion, without renouncing their economic and political demands."

Although the "Tsentralny" Mine in the Donbass Coal-Mining Basin resumed operations, 31 mines out of 122 are still idled.

The news conference was told that students went on strike in several Ukrainian cities to press the demands for the disbandment of the parliament, new elections on a multiparty basis, and nationalisation of the property of the CPSU and Komsomol. All these demands were first advanced last October during a hunger strike.

Students leader Vladimir Chemerys told journalists that parliament representatives assured students that a commission to prepare nationalisation of the party and Komsomol property will be set up on Thursday. He said the students threatened to begin an all-Ukrainian disobedience action if that promise was not fulfilled.

Ukrainian Students Threaten Protest Action

LD2304183191 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 22 Apr 91

[Text] Talks between a commission of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet and students who had demanded a meeting with an authoritative spokesman from the legislature took place today.

Although the representative of the Ukrainian Students Union, it's chairman Volodymyr Chemerys, met with Leonid Kravchuk and expressed no confidence in the republic's Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, the students are prepared to engage in constructive talks. However, if the talks do not produce the results the students expect, their leaders will begin an all-Ukrainian student protest action on 23 April.

Militia Uses Riot Gas on Students

PM2404212591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 91 p 1

[Report by correspondent O. Musafirova: "Spring. The Smell of 'Cheremukha'"]

[Text] Kiev—The situation in Kiev is as follows: Neither work, nor strikes. On 23 April, the day of the Ukrainian general strike which was announced the day before, several hundred students marched on the center of the city. They said it was an action in support of the miners. The miners reciprocated by expressing complete solidarity with the demands of the students' October hunger strike. Joining forces, the procession decided to go and stir up the rest of the working people and headed for the "Arsenal" Plant.

The OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] and the militia were waiting for them on Lesi Ukrainki Avenue. (Incidentally, the number of militiamen in vehicles, whose registration plates showed that they came from all over the republic, was simply mind-boggling.) Then a small group of students burst through the yard and into the "Arsenal." But there was no reaction from the "Arsenal." A fight did break out, however, on the avenue: The miners decided that the youths had gotten cut off and were being beaten up. There was another clash as the procession was returning along the Kreshchatik—"cheremukha" [riot control gas] was used and several people were hit with rubber sticks.

The strikers stopped by the Kiev City Soviet and demanded a response. The city soviet, in the person of Chairman G. Malyshevskiy, apologized and promised to look into the incident immediately. They also managed to persuade the city soviet to make October Revolution Square available at certain times in the morning and evening for rallies, and also to provide stands for strike committee news.

The next day the attempts to make inroads on the "Arsenal" resumed.

Deputy Views Ukrainian Path to Independence

AU1704122291 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Apr 91 p 6

[Interview with Mykola Horyn, deputy chairman of the Lvov Oblast People's Council, by Rafal Bubnicki; place and date not given: "Step By Step"]

[Excerpts] [Bubnicki] The Ukraine declared its sovereignty a year ago. To what extent is the Ukraine really independent?

[Horyn] Our declaration of sovereignty expressed the desire of the Ukrainian nation for independence. The declaration was accepted by the Supreme Soviet in Kiev—which had to bow to pressure from democratic forces—despite the fact that the Communist Party still has a majority there. Then came the declaration on economic independence. In the opinion of democratic groups, political and economic independence presents the way of getting out of the deep crisis that the Ukraine as a Soviet republic has found itself in. The path to Ukrainian independence is taking a different course than in other republics. The central authorities have been unable to create an "Interfront" movement as they did in the Baltic republics, or to incite democratic forces to fight among themselves as in Armenia and Azerbaijan, or provoke internal conflicts as in Georgia. Like a small child, the Ukraine is proceeding step by step to independence. We have chosen a peaceful, evolutionary approach that will lead to the creation of our independent statehood.

[Bubnicki] What are these small steps?

[Horyn] We have been organizing our own political and economic structures. We are currently debating the question of ownership. One of our economic steps has been to take over the coal and metal industries.

[Bubnicki] What is your opinion of a federation of great republics, as proposed by Solzhenitsyn and adapted by Yeltsin.

[Horyn] I do not agree with the idea of a new federation. First, we have to create independent states that in the future might wish to federate. To create a new federation in the present circumstances would be to recreate a centralist system of rule. The Ukraine wants to establish direct links with republics in just the same way as it is done in the civilized world.

[Bubnicki] During the March referendum in the Ukraine, apart from the question on the future of the USSR, there was a question on whether the Ukraine as a sovereign state is to be part of a union of sovereign states. In the Lvov, Ternopol, and Ivano-Frankovsk Oblasts there was a third question, namely: Is the Ukraine to become an independent state? In these oblasts, 88 percent of those voting (turnout 89 percent), replied affirmatively. Will this desire for independence in Western Ukraine have any political consequences?

[Horyn] If the same question had been allowed in eastern Ukraine, a substantial number of electors would also have voted yes. These results show that it is not just political and party leaders in the Ukraine who want independence, but the people. The results also show that a section of the Russian-speaking and other national minorities living in the Ukraine voted for sovereignty. An analysis of the voting might lead to speculation about Western Ukraine going its separate way, but a division of the Ukraine into an eastern and a western part is not possible. We have not united only to be divided again. Western Ukraine with its political experience will influence its eastern part and shape its independence aspirations.

[Bubnicki] In February 1991, there was a meeting of the leaders of the three western oblasts. Their discussions centered on economic cooperation between the three oblasts. What is being done?

[Horyn] The Ukrainian economy is still based on links ordained by a centralized bureaucratic system. For example, the Lvov Oblast buys hundreds of thousands of tonnes of grain from distant Kherson, instead of neighboring Ternopol from where it would be possible and rational from the economic point of view. The heads of the three western oblasts decided to rationalize their economic activity by entering into joint projects, for example gas pipe projects, production of water pipes, better supply of light industry products, and exchange of economic information. [passage omitted]

[Bubnicki] Roman Catholicism in the Lvov Oblast is a minority religion. Out of 64 churches currently in use, 54 churches have been returned to the Roman Catholics by the Ukrainian authorities in the last year. Why have Lvov's authorities raised the political temperature on the issue of the return of the Roman Catholic Archbishop Marian Jaworski to Lvov, thus this making it impossible for him to return to Lvov cathedral?

[Horyn] In relation to various religions, the Lvov authorities follow the principle of equality. We are aware that there are Roman Catholics and Uniates on both sides of the Polish-Ukrainian border. Given the situation, we must be careful when we make a decision that effects religious and national minorities. We are influenced by the situation of the Uniates in Poland. The dispute over the return of the Uniate cathedral in Przemysl to the Uniates meant that the Lvov authorities came under pressure to change their policy towards the Roman Catholics here. The Orthodox churches and the communists began to say that the Uniate church wants to Polonize all of western Ukraine, to separate it from the rest of the Ukraine so that it becomes a part of Poland. These accusations were leveled at Venchyslav Chornovil, chairman of the Lvov Oblast Council. We have had several meetings with the Polish Consul in Lvov, the Przemysl authorities, and representatives of the Roman Catholic church to make them see that in this situation it is simply not possible for Archbishop Marian Jaworski to return to Lvov. It might be possible to transfer the

archbishopric to Zhitomir, but trying to make Lvov a center of the Roman Catholic church is premature.

Chernobyl Power Plant Director Outlines Problems

LD2304194491 Moscow TASS in English 1439 GMT 23 Apr 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev April 23 TASS—"Although all ways of phasing out the Chernobyl nuclear power station by 1995, as was demanded by the Ukrainian parliament, have negative aspects and are costly (from one to three billion roubles), one of them must be chosen," said station General Director Mikhail Umanets.

One variant envisages building the sarcophagus-2 facility over the existing coffin structure around the ruined fourth power-generating unit and filling the vault of the ruined reactor with concrete.

A host of measures have been implemented since the accident to enhance the safety of graphite moderated light-water cooled reactors (RBMK), which operate at the Chernobyl station.

These measures included tightening operational rules and switching reactors to fuel with a higher content of uranium-235, which diminished the so-called steam coefficient of reactivity from five to six times. It is exactly this indicator that played a fatal role in the catastrophe on April 26, 1986.

Specialists also modified the design of control rods, the time of their descent was cut from 24 to 12 seconds. An emergency system that is actuated within 2.5 seconds was introduced.

However, Umanets thinks that it is still impossible to say that RBMK reactors meet all safety requirements. Specialists at the USSR State Committee for Supervising Safe Conduct of Work in Industry and Nuclear Power Engineering think that several fundamental design problem in this type of reactor cannot be resolved.

On the sarcophagus facility, Umanets said scientists believe that an uncontrolled chain reaction is impossible here. Over the last three years, specialists conducted an intensive probing of the epicentre of the accident, drilled about a hundred wells, took samples of heat-containing masses and installed control sensors. But the collapse of the ruined structures inside the sarcophagus is not ruled out.

Chernobyl Management Interviewed on AES Shutdown

LD2404035291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Apr 91

[From the "Vremya newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The fifth anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster is in two days. A discussion on prospects for developing nuclear power engineering has been under way all this time. The design and construction of new nuclear units has been frozen in the country. As you know, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet decided to close down the Chernobnyl Nuclear Electric Power Station [AES]. Yet attitudes about this decision remain ambiguous. And what do power engineers think about the future of their station? Here is an interview prepared by our correspondent.

[Correspondent] Can one compare the degree of reliability of the Chernobyl station in 1985 and 1991?

[N.M. Sorokin, chief engineer of the Chernobyl AES] Yes, one can, both in quantity and in quality. If one takes strictly quantitative evaluations, the reliability of the Chernobyl AES, that of its reactor, has increased by two to three orders of magnitude. If one speaks about the qualitative side of the matter, this means 100 or 1,000 times. Speaking about the qualitative aspect of the changes, reactor parameters have been changed in such a way today that a repeat of the 26 April 1986 accident is impossible in principle. A new quick response emergency protection has been implemented which is fully operational 2.5 seconds after it is triggered. Only the reliable operation of the station—and this is perhaps the main thing—full openness, full and the most detailed information on the state of things at the station—something we are trying to do today—can rehabilitate atomic power enginering, in my view.

[M.P. Umanets, director of the Chernobyl AES] Well, my personal wish is, while implementing measures to improve the safety level in the future, to maximize the service life of the station, too. Today we can generate 15-16,000 million kilowatts year. This is five to six percent of the total generated by Ukrainian stations. So, we receive commodity output worth 350 million rubles [R]. That is, over 10 years we will receive R3.5 billion, including about 500 or 600 million in net profit.

Now let us look at the second option. Suppose we close down the station. The commission which worked, with which we exchanged views and signed the document, calculated R2.1 billion, not for completely stopping the operation but for discharging reactors and mothballing for further dismantling. But we cannot calculate these losses in this way. To date I do not know, although I am studying the issue, how the 3 million yielded by our units due to be taken out of operation by 1995 are to be made up. There is no serious program to date for making up for the shortage that will emerge.

Caucasus

'Millions' Participate in Georgian National Strike

LD2504103391 Berlin ADN in German 0912 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—A general strike limited to three minutes paralyzed public life in Georgia today.

According to the Georgian news agency SAKINFORM, millions of people took part in the national protest at 1200 local time. They were demanding the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from the crisis region of South Ossetia and an end to Soviet interference in the internal affairs of Georgia.

Nine Candidates for Georgian Presidency Reported

LD2404170991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] Tbilisi, 24 Apr (TASS)—Nine people of different ages and professions representing various political parties, electoral blocs, and groups of the electorate have been put forward as candidates for the presidency of the Republic of Georgia, general elections for which are fixed for 26 May this year, the republican SAKINFORM agency reports.

Put forward alongside Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the current president and speaker of the "roundtable for a free Georgia," are Dzhimi Mikeladze from the independent Georgian Communist Party, representatives of which comprise almost a quarter in the republic's Supreme Soviet; Irakliy Shengelaya from the political bloc "Freedom" [Svoboda]; Georgiy Korganashvili from the Georgian Constitutional Democratic Party; Liparteliani from the All-Georgian Union of Farmers; Kartlos Garibashvili from the group of electors; Valerian Advadze from the Union of National Accord and Rebirth of Georgia; Nodar Natadze from the People's Front, the Georgian Republican Party, and the group of electors; and Tamaz Kvachantiradze from the Union of Free Democrats of Georgia.

All Presidential candidates have begun to collect signatures from electors supporting them. According to the law, lists with signatures of no less than 10,000 electors should be presented to the central electoral commission for the registration of presidential candidates no later than 23 days before the elections, the SAKINFORM agency reports.

Continuing Reportage on South Ossetia Situation

Internal Troops Storm Village

AU2404153191 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] Regarding the situation in Samachablo [South Ossetia]. As reported by the Press Center of the Georgian Interior Ministry, today, armored personnel carriers with servicemen of the Internal Troops entered the village of Eredvi in Tskhinvali Rayon again and created havoc among the civilian Georgian population there.

'Tension Still Prevails'

LD2404175391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 24 Apr 91

[Text] A state of tension still prevails in South Ossetia. A TASS correspondent was informed of this at the press center of the USSR MVD [Internal Affairs Ministry]. Isolated bursts of automatic fire were heard in Tskhinvali and its environs during the night. The economic blockade of the town continues. There are problems with the water supply and there is no electricity.

In the evening of 23 April, while a truck with no license plates was being checked in the village of (Kekhvi), its driver attempted to run over a detail of USSR MVD internal troops. After warning shots were fired, the vehicle was detained and the driver ran off.

Tskhinvali Garrison's Tribulations Cited

PM2404104791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Apr 91 First Edition p 1

["Direct Line" report by Colonel A. Semenyaka: "Post in Firing Line"]

[Text] Tskhinvali, 22 Apr—The military post in Tskhinvali consists of eight houses, a hotel, a trade complex, and an officers' club. Today it was left without electrical power, water, and heating, and there are interruptions in the gas supply. But the post is getting along. Even the children are going to school, where servicemen's wives have become temporary teachers. In the evenings everyone looks with alarm in the direction of Tamarasheni village, from where the bombardment of the city is being conducted. The first to bear the brunt are the military post's inhabitants, since it is located between the warring sides.

Only a week ago they were firing unguided rockets, heavy machine guns, and assault rifles at the post. Things have now become a little easier: There is no such intensive shooting. The results of the Internal Troops' energetic actions to confiscate weapons from bandits are being felt. But isolated shots are still ringing out. One of the servicemen's wives showed me 17 bullets of various calibers which she found in the yard in the morning. They are a "trophy" from the previous night's bombardment.

Meanwhile voices are constantly sounding off in Tbilisi that the Tskhinvali garrison servicemen are supplying Ossetian militants with weapons and ammunition and are terrorizing South Ossetia's Georgian population with them.

Various commissions and certain officials are just not giving officers the chance to get on with the scheduled work—all their duty time goes on checking and rechecking various rumors. So, the latest commission visited here recently, accompanied by two representatives of the Tbilisi public. They personally saw for themselves that conversations about "aid" from servicemen to the Ossetian side are idle invention. They stated this on television. Their words sounded sensational. Nevertheless, this occasion, too, did not end without an ultimatum. It seems that the military units in Tskhinvali are a real thorn in someone's side.

Strikes Continue; 'Scapegoat' Blamed for Prices

PM2404153091 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Apr 91 First Edition p 5

["Direct Line" report by Correspondent Colonel L. Arshantsev in Tbilisi: "First Scapegoat Already Found"]

[Text] The political strike continues in Georgia. Long-distance trains are still at a standstill and the movement of freight trains is extremely limited. Hundreds of vehicles carrying national economic freight have ground to a halt on the highway near Zestafoni. The port workers at Batumi and Poti are unloading only those ships whose holds contain cargo destined for Georgia.

In a recent interview given by Georgian President Z. Gamsakhurdia to a correspondent for Japan's "Fuji" television company, when the journalist asked whether the president thinks the strike will influence Moscow's behavior, Zviad Konstantinovich replied: "Certainly, because the strike is paralyzing the Soviet economy."

In terms of the Soviet economy, this is a prophecy based on desire; but as for the economic situation in the republic, this, it seems, is like gathering storm clouds. The social situation here is becoming increasingly acute, and this is greatly promoted by the government decision to set prices for certain goods that are considerably in excess of the all-Union ceilings. The promise by government chairman T. Sigua that this measure will benefit the people and give the republic additional funds in the context of the "self-imposed blockade," prompts at best a wry smile among the population.

Incidentally, in connection with the "do-it-yourself" price increase, the present Georgian leadership has suffered an embarrassment which is the subject of a rather tough statement by the council of the Georgian Social Democratic Party. It was published under the heading "Who Needs Hypocrisy?" in the first issue of the Russian-language newspaper YEDINSTVO [UNITY], which has just come out under the Social Democratic Party's auspices. The document declares that back on 30 March, at a routine press conference, Z. Gamsakhurdia stressed that the decision on price increases was adopted by the center, and was not signed by the republic's leaders, that is to say, the republic's current president, T. Sigua. It was signed, so he said, by Deputy Prime Minister O. Melkadze, who lost his job as a result.

The statement assesses this fact as an attempt by the leadership to shrug aside responsibility for extremely unpopular measures. The selection of O. Melkadze for the role of "scapegoat" also struck the Social Democratic Party because the signature on the agreement between the USSR and the republics on questions of the reform of retail prices and social protection for the population, published in IZVESTIYA on 21 March this year, is... T. Sigua.

IZVESTIYA Reports Georgian Strike 'Widening'

PM2404122791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

[Correspondent B. Urigashvili report: "Strikes Encouraged"]

[Text] Tbilisi—A new Supreme Soviet chairman—Akakiy Asatiani—was elected at a routine sitting of the first session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet.

The session also adopted the law on prefectures at its first reading.

Meanwhile, the political strike in the republic organized on the initiative of the ruling political bloc is widening. According to the latest statistics, as of today 136 enterprises under Union jurisdiction are taking part in the strike. These enterprises are working a warehouse regime. The output they produce is not dispatched to the consumer. Armenia and Azerbaijan constitute exceptions. All deliveries to these republics are strictly observed.

Strikers' families are being given financial aid from the Georgian trade unions' sector funds. A solidarity committee has been set up and is receiving material and financial aid from private individuals and organizations.

The main demand of the participants in the strike is the withdrawal of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Internal Troops from Tskhinvali and adjacent regions.

Paper on Biased Reporting of Georgian Incident

PM2304092191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Apr 91 First Edition p 1

["Direct Line" report by Lieutenant Colonel A. Semenyaka: "What Happened in Dvani Village"]

[Text] Tskhinvali—The latest message from Z. Gamsakhurdia to the USSR President states that internal troops servicemen burned down two significant monuments of Georgian culture, the church of Saint George and Holy Trinity Church in the village of Dvani, Karelskiy Rayon, 11 April. Z. Gamsakhurdia demands "an end to the outrages and excesses perpetrated by Soviet servicemen on the territory of the sovereign Republic of Georgia."

It must be noted that the report "on Soviet servicemen's excesses" was immediately picked up by the mass media. It was no accident that the newspaper SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA [Free Georgia] praised the Moscow KURANTY [Gazette] and NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA [Independent] in its 16 April edition, claiming that only thanks to them "Muscovites are able to obtain information on events in Georgia as distinct from what the central newspapers and television are trying to ram down their throats."

The point is that these publications simply reproduced the Georgian side's story. To corroborate I will cite

KURANTY (this is the quotation carried by SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA): "Subunits of the USSR internal troops rushed into Dvani village on 12 armored personnel carriers and with the support of four helicopters shelled the building of the rural soviet and two churches and burned them down."

What can you say about this? Judging by appearances, this reportage was concocted in the editorial office. Had the author been present at the scene of the incident, he might have counted only six armored carriers and two helicopters. This is precisely the number of units of combat hardware used in the operation to rout an illegal armed group.

Yes, there was a clash. But the servicemen did not burn down the rural soviet or fire at it.

As for the two churches—the Church of Saint George and of the Holy Trinity, this is what happened.

It was from here that on 24 March an internal troops "Spetsnaz" [special purpose forces] flying squad came under fire, having detained at the scene of the crime five Georgian armed thugs who had razed the Ossetian village Veleyebi to the ground.

I agree that it is necessary to be honest when describing these events. But until 11 April it was these two churches which were used by the Georgian thugs for living in. And it seems that they did not live badly. They left behind several hundred empty vodka, wine, and beer bottles, empty food cans, and cigarette stubs... bales of straw, torn mattresses.... Let journalists come here, they can see all this for themselves, what is more, the churches are in the state in which the "Spetsnaz" "took them over" from the thugs.

On the eve of the operation the Ossetian Prinevi village had come under attack. It transpired that the thugs hiding in the churches of Saint George and of the Holy Trinity were responsible.

There were some 20 of them. When the military appeared, the thugs opened single-round and automatic fire. Then they simply took to their heels, but were detained after a brief firefight.

This is what happened in Dvani village.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Calls 25 Apr Meeting

NC2404124391 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 23 Apr 91

["Decision of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium on Inviting an Extraordinary and Full Session of the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium has decided to convoke an extraordinary and full session of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet at 1600 on 25 April 1991. The agenda is as follows:

1. To establish a Supreme Soviet deputies'commission to study cases of anti-people activities being fomented by certain high-level representatives of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry in Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh], Shaumyanovskiy Rayon and Getashen subrayon and to find a relevant solution.

2. To raise the issue of inviting an extraordinary congress of the USSR people's deputies to examine the aggravation of the relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan and the direct contribution to this aggravation by a number of Union departments.

To Examine 'Explosive' Situation

LD2404212491 Moscow TASS in English 2105 GMT 24 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan April 24 TASS—An explosive situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and regions of Azerbaijan with predominantly Armenian population, as well as ways to settle it by political means will be discussed at an extraordinary session of the Armenian parliament on April 25. The decision to hold it was taken by the Presidium of the republican Supreme Soviet.

The session will discuss two questions. First, it will consider setting up a deputy commission to study "the facts of instigation by some top-ranking officials of the USSR Interior Ministry of antipopular actions" in Nagorno-Karabakh and neighbouring regions. Second, deputies will probably also demand the convocation of an extraordinary congress of USSR people's deputies to discuss a recent worsening of relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The dramatic situation around Armenians in Azerbaijan caused an uproar in Armenia. In this connection, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Levon Ter-Petrosyan sent a message to President Mikhail Gorbachev and other leaders of the country, expressing grave concern over "recent large-scale operations aimed at deporting the Armenian population" from several populated localities of the neighbouring republic.

At present, the Shaumyan and Getashen regions, as well as Berdadzor village are in a state of siege, the message says. Helicopter flights have been suspended. There are no supplies of electricity, portable water, and foodstuffs. It is impossible to evacuate wounded and ill people.

The Armenian leader urged the withdrawal of all armed detachments of the Azerbaijani Interior Ministry from the regions populated by Armenians.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Decision on Holidays

NC2004140891 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 19 Apr 91

[Text] The Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet has decided the following:

1. Until the bill on the Armenian Republic's national holidays and days of commemoration receives final ratification, the following will be observed as the Armenian Republic's holidays and days of commemoration: victims of the genocide will be commemorated on 24 April, a nonworking day; peace day will be celebrated on 9 May, a nonworking day; independence day will be celebrated on 28 May; and victims of the earthquake will be commemorated on 7 December.

2. The Supreme Soviet Standing Commission for the Establishment of Independent Statehood and National Policy will be instructed to revise the bill on the Armenian Republic's holidays and days of commemoration in line with the proposals and criticisms made and to resubmit it to the Supreme Soviet.

Ter-Petrosyan Warns Moscow On Deportations

NC2304113191 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 22 Apr 91

[Text] Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet, has sent the following appeal to USSR President Gorbachev, Vice President Yanayev, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Lukyanov, Prime Minister Pavlov, Chairman of the Committee for State Security Kryuchkov, Defense Minister Yazov, Internal Affairs Minister Pugo, and to the members of the Security Council Primakov, Bakatin, and Yakovlev:

The unpunished forced deportation of the entire Armenian populations from Sumgait, Baku, Kirovabad, Azat, Kamo and from other settlements in the last year has resulted in the current situation.

Every current attempt to stabilize the situation in and around Nagorno-Karabakh would be to no avail if the status quo [preceeding two words in English] is disrupted, in particular regarding the fate of the the Armenian-inhabited Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, Getashen subrayon, and Berdadzor village. The disruption of the status quo would inevitably set off a chain reaction and give rise to complications that would practically make it impossible to pursue a constructive dialogue and find a political solution.

It initially appeared that the introduction of the state of emergency in Nagorno-Karabakh and adjacent Azerbaijani administrative regions was to ensure the defense and security of the region's population and thus was aimed at maintaining the status quo. However, the recent large-scale efforts to uproot the Armenian population from Getashen, Martunashen and from other settlements were put into effect with the participation of the law enforcement bodies soon after the instructions given by Mutalibov, president of Azerbaijan, at a meeting held in Baku on 16 April 1991 and after the visit paid to Getashen subrayon by Polyanichko [Second Secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party].

The renewed provocative undertakings to uproot the indigenous Armenian population are being implemented, just like two years ago, by the commander of the Internal Troops of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Shatalin who, in order to justify his illegal acts, is misleading the nation's leadership and the public by distorting the facts

Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, Getashen subrayon and Berdadzor are currently completely blocked, and even helicopter flights there have been stopped. The population has no way of receiving power, drinking water, foodstuffs, and it is impossible to take people in need of medical attention to the central clinics.

Before investigating the crimes being committed in the region, the Azerbaijani special detachments and all the armed organizations under the control of the Azerbaijani Internal Affairs Ministry from Getashen and Martunashen need to be pulled out of the region. Getashen subrayon should be placed under the command of the state of emergency.

Troops Around Getashen Village Cause Tension

Armenian MVD Protests to Pugo

NC2404123391 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Yerevan, 23 Apr (ARMENPRES)—The leadership of the Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] has sent a protest note to USSR Internal Affairs Minister B.K. Pugo. The note states:

The leadership of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Internal Troops has recently adopted decisions fraught with the danger of sharply destabilizing the situation and with the possiblity of a major military conflict.

Therefore, on 19 April an attempt was made to redeploy the military subunits around Getashen village without notifying the population. The village is besieged and is constantly fired upon by the Azerbaijani Special Purpose Militia. The redeployment attempt was seen as yet another opportunity to attack the village. As a result, a major military conflict ensued in which the Azerbaijani Internal Affairs Ministry special formations' subunits massed at nearby Azerbaijani villages also took part and shelled Getashen with artillery and large caliber machine guns. The casualties include servicemen and village citizens.

The energetic participation of the Azerbaijani Special Purpose Militia in the conflict indicates that the attack was preplanned and was put into play in keeping with the spirit of the decisions adopted at the latest meeting in Baku between the Azerbaijani President Mutalibov and the representatives of the law enforcement organs.

What was most alarming was that an attempt was made to bring subunits which were under the jurisdiction of the operative team of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry

Internal Troops stationed at Kirovabad into Getashen. This attempt was made despite the fact that in an identical situation, the subunit deployed at the [Azerbaijani-inhabited] Nuvadi village in Megrinskiy Rayon of Armenia comes under the jurisdiction of the operative team of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Internal Troops stationed in Nakhichevan ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], and not under the team stationed in Armenia. This fact is only natural under conditions of interethnic conflict. The impermissibility of altering this arrangement was discussed many times during talks with the Internal Affairs Ministry Internal Troops' leaders of various ranks, such as Shatalin, Kulikov, Skripnik, Makarikhin, Zhukov. However, despite many assurances given that the situation would be corrected, that operation was carried out anyway. That fact confirms that the leadership which adopted this decision that led to the conflict has as yet an unclear interest in the conflict.

The USSR Internal Affairs Ministry needs to establish an authoritative commission to make a preliminary assessment of the incident and to punish the culprits.

NKAO Officer Explains Troop Pullout

NC2404115291 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Reprint of a report in HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN by K. Danielyan: "Clarification by the Colonel"]

[Text] Yerevan, 23 Apr (ARMENPRES)—According to reports received, the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry internal troop subunits have been pulled out of Getashen subrayon. We asked Colonel Lebed, chief of staff of the military command of the state of emergency, if he could confirm this report.

He said: The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium issued a decree on 15 January 1990 on the "Introduction of a State of Emergency in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and in a Number of Other Regions." The firts point of the decree stipulates the "introduction of state of emergency in NKAO, the rayons of Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socilaist Republic] adjacent to it, Gorisskiy Rayon of the Armenian SSR, and also along the USSR state border within the territory of the Azerbaijan SSR." Since Getashen subrayon is not adjacent to NKAO it does not come under the state of emergency region, that is why the internal troop subunits have been pulled out from Getashen subrayon.

Situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Termed 'Critical'

LD2404130391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1155 GMT 24 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Ruben Shirinyan]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Apr (TASS)—The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and districts bordering on Azerbaijan has reached a critical point. The sole way out of the crisis is the immediate restoration of the legitimate bodies of power in Nagorno-Karabakh and the search with them for political ways to settle the conflict. This was stressed at a news conference held today in the permanent representative office of the Republic of Armenia in Moscow by deputies of the Armenian Supreme Soviet and representatives of the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Deputy Eduard Yegoryan stated that armed attacks on the Armenian villages of Shushinskiy and Shaumyanskiy Rayons of Nagorno-Karabakh, which are completely cut off from the outside world, are now a virtually everyday occurrence. Yesterday morning a number of villages came under fire from two helicopters. Two children were wounded. The shelling resumed in the afternoon. Numerous cases have been registered of servicemen from Soviet Army units composed primarily of Azerbaijanis taking part in attacks on Armenian border districts.

Those taking part in the news conference demanded that the central authorities immediately ban the activities of special-purpose militia detachments in Armenian settlements and put an end to the practice of manning with Azerjanis the military units located on the border with Armenia.

The deputies reported that the question of the deteriorating situation in Nagorno-Karabakh has been put forward for discussion at the Armenian Supreme Soviet session, which opens tomorrow in Yerevan.

As is known, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has issued a decree suspending the fulfillment of the Armenian Council of Ministers' decision on nationalization of the property of the Armenian Communist Party and the former republican Komsomol, as being at variance with the USSR Constitution and the laws of the country. Answering a question from journalists as to how the deputies evaluate the decree, the reply was that "it is the affair of the republican legislature."

Armenians in Azerbaijan Appeal to Officials

NC2304121391 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 22 Apr 91

[Text] The population of Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, Getsahen subrayon and Martunashen have sent the following appeal to the USSR President Gorbachev, Vice President Yanayev, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Lukyanov, Prime Minister Pavlov, Chairman of the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet Levon Ter-Petrosyan, USSR Defense Minister Yazov, Chief of the General Staff Moiseyev, Internal Affairs Minister Pugo, writer (?Muykin), and the people's deputies Balayan, Lobov, Dadamyan, and Ambardzumyan:

Instead of implementing the USSR Supreme Soviet's decisions and the second congress of the USSR people's deputies' declaration, and instead of freeing all the rail and road communications in keeping with the USSR law

on the criminal responsibility for the road blockading, the leadership of Azerbaijan mislead the public and thus achieved its objective of banning the helicopter flights to Getashen, Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, and the remote parts of Nagorno-Karabakh. Thus the last link with the outside world has now been cut off. The population in these regions is suffering from famine and disease; telephone and power lines have been disconnected.

We resolutely demand that urgent arrangements be made to resume the helicopter flights, punish the criminals, and force the Azerbaijani special detachments—who are destabilizing the situation in the region—to withdraw. The blame for the prevailing explosive situation directly falls on the CPSU Central Committee's representative Polyanichko. It was after his visit that the real war started in our region.

CPSU Official Regrets Armenian Nationalization

LD2404082591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1718 GMT 23 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, 23 Apr (TASS)—Nikolay Kruchina, administrator of affairs of the CPSU Central Committee, described as yet another step along the path of establishing antidemocratic procedures in Armenia the adoption by the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] on 17 April this year of a decision on the nationalization of property under the control of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia and also the creation in accordance with the decision of the republican council of ministers of commissions "to take custody of" party property. In his opinion, these and other measures are virtually aimed at banning the activity of the Communist Party of Armenia.

Nikolay Kruchina describes as unsubstantiated the assertions by Armenian deputies that the CPSU property which is under the control of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia was formed from state resources. He writes that over a period of many years the budget of the republican party organization had an excess of expenditure over income and the difference was made up from subsidies allocated by the CPSU Central Committee. In the 35 years after the war the total amount of subsidies received by the Communist Party of Armenia from the CPSU budget was over 40 million rubles [R]. Only after the completion in 1979 of the construction of the party publishing house which was carried out totally at the expense of general party funds backed up by material and technical resources did it start to make contributions from the profits to the CPSU budget. In the past decade they amounted to R10 million.

Nikolay Kruchina writes that the steps undertaken by the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR bear a serious threat for all of society and are dangerous to it in that this process, as is shown by our history, will undoubtedly become further developed and move into other areas of the life of society.

Central Asia

Dzasokhov's Alma-Ata Activities Reported

PM2304134391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

[V. Alekseyev report: "Science and the Renewal of Society"]

[Text] As already announced, A.S. Dzasokhov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee, who had arrived in Alma-Ata, has visited a number of the republic's enterprises, establishments, and organizations.

At the "Merrey" Furniture Production Association, which A.S. Dzasokhov and N.A. Nazarbayev, president of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and first secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee, visited, there was discussion of pressing questions of economic reform.

Dzasokhov took part in examining at the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Politburo a report from the "Balkhashmed" Production Association party committee. The economic and sociopolitical situation at the enterprise was analyzed. The discussion of problems relating to the retooling of the sector was particularly trenchant.

A meeting with the republic's Academy of Sciences, which currently comprises 33 scientific institutes and more than 10,000 staffers, was also substantive. They had a useful exchange of opinions on questions of state funding for fundamental science, ensuring a qualitative improvement in the experimental base, and intensifying research into environmental protection and conservation. Particular attention was devoted to extricating the humanitarian sciences from the crisis and developing work on the ethnic origins of the Kazakh and other peoples of the republic.

During an exchange of opinions it was unanimously acknowledged that Soviet science cannot be divided up into national compartments. The fact that integration processes are proceeding at increasing preferential rates in science must be taken into consideration.

Dzasokhov and Nazarbayev's meeting with professors and students at the Kazakh State University was a logical extension of this conversation. They discussed the nature of the current sociopolitical transformations in the country, party scientific and cultural policy, and problems of interethnic relations. The meeting's participants reacted with satisfaction to the idea that the time has come to formulate a state youth policy. In response to students' questions, Dzasokhov noted that the "deideologization" of the sciences does not mean renouncing the in-depth study of these subjects. Only a specialist

with an all-around humanitarian education can expect a worthy place in the modern community.

Nazarbayev Addresses Meeting

PM2304105791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Eduard Matskevich: "Prices Manipulation Will Lead to Chaos"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—That was the thought voiced by N. Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan, at a meeting of the ideological aktiv of Alma-Ata and the capital's oblast with A. Dzasokhov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs.

A. Dzasokhov noted that the optimal and perhaps universal model for the transitional period, a model which deserves to be studied and popularized, is being shaped in Kazakhstan.

President N. Nazarbayev devoted his speech mainly to the reform of prices and measures for the population's social protection. Deviation from a single prices policy in the country, he believes, given the existing wholesale prices, could result in catastrophe for the industrial enterprises which are unable to earn their own profit and consequently develop production and protect the labor collective from socioeconomic upheavals. Long-term compensations and various payments which in large families make up a substantial supplement will enable them to stabilize their budget more reliably.

The reduction of retail prices for bread, flour, and a number of goods, as has been done in some regions, will disrupt the economic balance, create an unnecessary frenzy of demand, primarily among their territorial neighbors, and will open the way to buying for resale and speculation. Such a situation is already taking shape in a number of rayons adjacent to Uzbekistan and Kyrgystan.

Each republic individually will be unable independently to pursue an anti-inflation policy or implement economic reforms because many important levers are in the hands of the center. Those who want to be part of the Union must agree resolutely and immediately. It is time finally to rid the economy of the political struggle, which must be waged only within the framework of the law and only by parliamentary means, the president stressed.

Tajik President Receives Iranian Official

LD2104194991 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 0005 GMT 21 Apr 91

[Text] Tajikistan President Makhkamov received (Masih Mohajeri), adviser to the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, on 20 April. During their talks, which were held in an atmosphere of frankness and mutual understanding, both sides stressed the importance of profound and direct relations between Tajikistan and Iran in various fields of national economy, and expressed views for strengthening all-round relations and further raising the level of bilateral cooperation in economic and cultural fields, not only between official delegations but (?public) representatives.

(Mohajeri), on behalf of the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, invited President Makhkamov, to pay an official visit to Iran. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

Turkmen, Uzbek Leaders Sign Bilateral Agreement

PM2404135991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 91 First Edition p 2

[Correspondent M. Volkov report: "Meeting in Ashkhabad Ended With Signing of Intergovernmental Agreement Between Two Republics"]

[Text] Ashkhabad—S. Niyazov and I. Karimov, respectively presidents of the Turkmen and Uzbek SSR's [Soviet Socialist Republic], signed an intergovernmental agreement between the two republics yesterday. They gave a news conference straight after the signing in which the Turkmen and Uzbek Government delegations, which spent a long time working on the document, also took part. Opening the news conference, Turkmen President S. Niyazov said that the business, cultural, and national relations that developed long ago between the age-old neighbors are now scaling new heights. The distortions and excesses that occurred during the years of stagnation are being resolutely eliminated and a common stance formulated on many questions. The presidents' views of the new Union Treaty, which still has to be signed, also coincide in many respects. It is important to uphold the republics' interests, but it is also important not to flout the Union's interests.

I. Karimov in turn confirmed the almost total unity of their views on many problems that emerged both during the drafting of the documents and on the day they were signed. He focused the audience's attention on the fact that the Central Asian republics should not develop by themselves. Relations should be structured at the regional level owing to the community of their cultural, historical, religious, and other traditions. Given skillful organization, Central Asia and Kazakhstan, with their unique natural conditions and wealth of manpower resources, can be fully autonomous in the economic context, but in no way can they do without, for instance, supplies of drinking water from outside

The presidents answered numerous questions from journalists.